

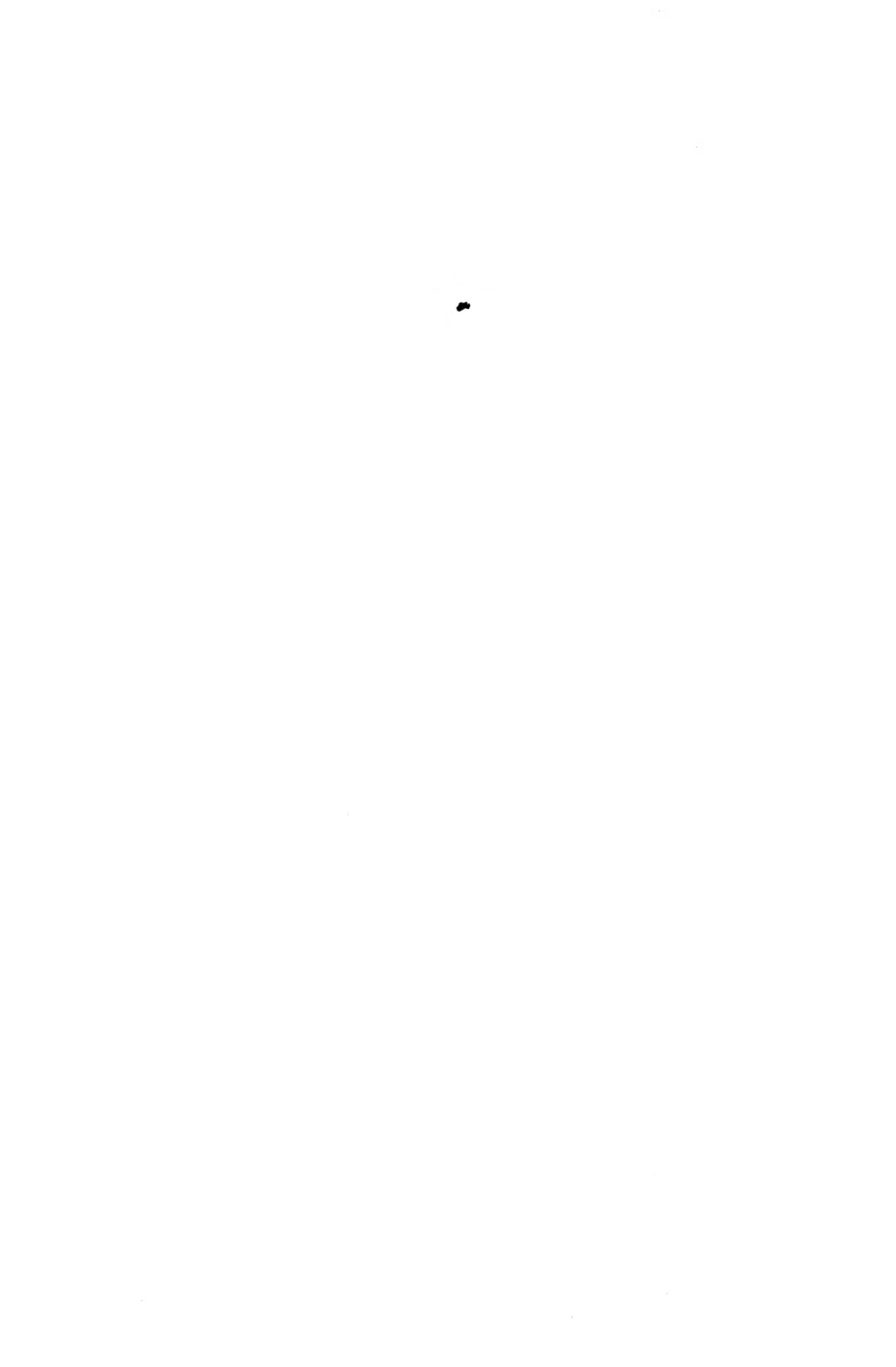


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	PAGE
The Dispersion of the Indo-European Family. <i>H. D. Griswold</i>	1
Note on the passage of the Hydaspes by Alexander. <i>J. Hutchinson</i>	10
Note on the History of the Burning Glass. <i>Lakshman Sarup</i>	16
Ahmad Shah Abdali and a Hindu Swami. <i>Parmanand Arora</i>	20
Hasham Shah. <i>Bawa Budh Singh</i>	21
An Autobiographical Memoir of Louis Bourquien. <i>J. P. Thompson</i>	36
Facts and Fancies about the Iron Pillar of Old-Delhi. <i>J. Ph. Vogel</i>	71

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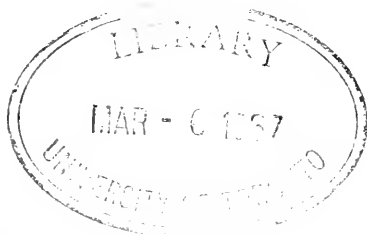
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The Dispersion of the Indo-European Family.

H. D. GRISWOLD, PH.D.

The greatest linguistic discovery of the nineteenth century and perhaps of all time was the discovery of the Indo-European family of languages. The different languages that compose the family, Sanskrit, Old Persian, Armenian, Greek, Latin, Celtic, Teutonic, Balto-Slavic, etc., were already known more or less. The discovery of their linguistic unity was an event of first importance—hardly less important in the sphere of philology than the discovery of the New World in the sphere of geography. Sanskrit happily preserves more completely than any other I.E. tongue the consonants of the primitive speech. It was Jacob Grimm (1785–1863) who formulated the law of consonantal interchange as between the Teutonic group and all the other members of the I.E. family. He discovered that there are four series of consonants affected by the shift, viz.—

Labials	bh	b	p	f
Dentals	dh	d	t	th
Velars	gh	g	k	h
Palatals	gh'	g'	k'	h'

The direction of the Teutonic shift is from left to right, that is, from bh to b, from b to p, and from p to f. To illustrate, Skt. bhrātar is cognate with English brother; Skt. bhu with Eng. be; Skt. dhā with Eng. do; Skt. paḍ with Eng. foot; Skt. dru with Eng. tree, etc.

The discovery of the unity of the Indo-European family of languages meant, then, that the widely dispersed members of the family are sister dialects at a long remove from the parent speech. The roots and forms of the parent-speech can be hypothetically reconstructed from a comparative study of its linguistic descendants. At the beginning of the historical period the I.E. languages extended from India to Europe, hence the name 'Indo-European' (I.E.) as covering the whole speech family. German scholars, who have taken the lead in I.E. comparative philology, prefer for obvious reasons the name 'Indo-Germanic.' Sometimes the word 'Aryan' is used in the sense of Indo-European, but the word Aryan should be restricted to the Indo-Iranian branch.

At the present time I.E. languages are found spoken in North and Central India, Afghanistan, Baluchistan, Persia, Armenia, Greece, Italy and in fact the whole of Europe, as well as North and South America, Australia, South Africa, etc. Since these languages all presuppose one common original, and since that original mother speech must have belonged to some particular area, it follows that there have been migrations on the part of the peoples of I.E. speech. A central hive has been sending forth swarms. Hence two problems emerge, that of the original home of the I.E. clans and that of the date of their dispersion. A common speech does not prove a common race. Indo-European unity means properly *linguistic* unity. Clans of different origin may have been combined under one culture, and have learned to speak one common tongue. There is some evidence of dialectic differences in primitive I.E. even before the dispersion of the clans. The various languages are divided into *śatam* and *centum* groups. For example, in Greek, Latin and the recently discovered Tocharian the palatals appear as stops (k in Latin *centum* and Greek *ἐκατόν*), whereas they appear as aspirates, *sh* as in *śatam*, in Sanskrit, Balto-Slavic, Armenian, etc. Such an early dialectic difference may be best accounted for on the hypothesis of the union in the original I.E. linguistic family of different racial elements.

In view, then, of the wide dispersion over the earth of the I.E. languages extensive migrations must have taken place. Some of these migrations have occurred during the historical period. For example, after the discovery of America in 1492, and of the sea route to India in 1498, we can watch the steady movement toward North and South America, South Africa, Australia, etc., of peoples speaking I.E. tongues, Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English. Furthermore, the hymns of the Rigveda reflect the life of certain Aryan tribes living in the Punjab. Their faces were toward the rising sun. The history of India during the historical period is the history of its progressive Aryanization. From the Punjab, the Vedic habitat of the Indian Aryans, the tide of migration has been steadily eastward and southward, until Aryan languages have become dominant almost as far south as the southern limits of the Empire of Asoka the Great, that is, nearly to Madras and Mangalore. During the historical period we may detect also a shifting of I.E. tribes in Europe. The order of advance southward and westward was first Celtic, then Teutonic and last of all Slavonic. The Celts pressed upon the Romans, so much so that not only did the Gauls occupy northern Italy, but even captured Rome in B.C. 390. The Teutons pressed upon the Celts, causing them to seek new lands, and when the Teutons moved forward the Slavs followed closely in their wake. The Celtic lands were finally almost entirely annexed and civilized by the Romans, namely,

North Italy, Portugal, Gaul and Britain. The decline of the Roman Empire offered to the Teutonic tribes on the northern frontier an opportunity for conquest and plunder. When the barrier of Roman power was broken down, there was a Teutonic advance all along the line. Probably movements in Central Asia on the part of the Huns had something to do with this. The invasion of Britain by Jutes, Angles and Saxons and the driving of the Celtic inhabitants into the mountains of Wales and Scotland represented the immemorial forward pressure of the Teutons upon the Celts and the Romans. The Roman Empire became finally occupied by Teutonic tribes. North Italy became Lombardy, the land of the Lombards; Gaul became France, the land of the Franks; and Britain became England, the land of the Angles. The extension of the Russian Empire into Siberia, Alaska, Turkestan, and southward toward Turkey, Persia and Manchuria, with the possibility of an invasion of India through the north-western gates, represented, up to the downfall of the house of Romanoff, the racial, linguistic and governmental expansion of the Slavonic people. During the 19th century Russia was the dread of the world, until the bubble of Russian prestige was broken in the war with Japan. Since then Russian history has been tragic. Again, as the Teutonic tribes took advantage of the weakness of the Roman Empire in the days of its 'decline' to assail it along the whole line of its northern border, and to expand to the Mediterranean and Atlantic, and even to pass over into Africa, so the Central Teutonic powers in 1914, Germany and Austria, sought to take advantage of the assumed weakness of France, Russia and Britain, in order to expand, and even to create a world-empire. Mexico, Central America and South America represent the expansion of Spain and Portugal and of the I.E. Romance languages Spanish and Portuguese. The United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand as well as South Africa represent the extension of the English tongue into new regions.

So much for the I.E. linguistic expansion due to the shifting and migration of peoples during the historical period. In Europe the movement of I.E. migration has been in general toward the South and West. In India it has been toward the South and East. There are two important exceptions to this, however, which must be noticed. It looks as if the Balkan Peninsula had served as an early I.E. distributing centre, the Achaeans invading Greece about 1500 B.C., and other tribes crossing the Hellespont into Asia Minor and moving eastward, Phrygians, Bithynians, Trojans, etc. Corresponding with this eastward movement across the Hellespont into Asia Minor there was apparently a westward movement of the Iranians from Bactria into Persia and even into Mesopotamia. If Armenian is a *satam* speech, then the Armenians also may have migrated westward from Bactria or southward from Russia by way of

the Caucasus. It was in connection with the Kassite invasion of Media and Babylonia about B.C. 1760, that we have the first appearance of Aryans in history. Thus there seem to have been two distributing centres for the I.E. clans, the western in the Balkan Peninsula including the Danube basin,¹ whence the tribes could pass west into Italy and the regions beyond, south into Greece and east into Asia Minor; and the eastern in Baetria, whence the I.E. tribes could pass south into India, west into Persia and perhaps east into Chinese Turkestan, the region where the recently discovered Tocharian was spoken.

At this point we may glance at the problem of the original home of the I.E. people. From the evidence of comparative philology it was a land of bears and wolves, but not of lions, tigers or camels. It had two seasons, winter and summer, and the name for winter served also as the name for the year. "Two winters" meant two years. As in North India the rainy season is the most characteristic season of the year and as such has furnished the name for year (*baras* from *barsāt*, Skt. *vr̥ṣṭi* 'rain'), so in the cold original home of the I.E. people winter was the most characteristic season of the year, and as such gave its name to the year. The linguistic evidence, then, points to a temperate or cold climate. This fact of itself would exclude India, the shores of the Mediterranean, and the southern coasts of the Black and Caspian Seas. The evidence from migration fits in with the linguistic evidence. The I.E. tribes reached the Mediterranean almost within the historic period, Greece about 1500 B.C. and Italy and Spain probably considerably later. These regions, then, may be eliminated. So may for the same reason Asia Minor, Persia and India. That leaves the great grassy plain of central and northern Europe and Asia extending from the Baltic on the west to the Hindu Kush on the east.

The first scholars to deal with the problem of the original home of the I.E. people favoured the eastern end of the great plain, namely the steppes of Turkestan and south-western Siberia. Asia was traditionally the earliest home of mankind. Turkestan was historically 'a hive of the nations,' whence had successively gone forth Aryas, Śakas, Kushānas, Huns, Turks, etc. Hence "somewhere in Asia" with a distinct preference for Turkestan was Max Müller's verdict. Later scholars have favoured the centre or the western end of the great plain as the original home of the I.E. clans. The great plains of southern Russia watered by the Volga, Don and Dnieper have seemed to some a suitable *via media* between the eastern and the western end of the great plain. The extreme western habitat postulated for the I.E. tribes is near the Baltic. This is

¹ Prof. Giles (*Cambridge History of India*, I, p. 15 ff) regards Austria-Hungary as the original home of the speakers of Indo-European. "Wiros" he calls them.

favoured by the archaic character of the Lithuanian speech. The European habitat in general, whether in Eastern Russia, in Western Russia or in Austria-Hungary is favoured by two considerations, (1) the fact that the centre of gravity of the I.E. world is in Europe, and (2) that there seems to have been a pre-historic connection between the I.E. speech-family and that of the Ural-Altaic speech-family of Northern Russia and Siberia. Recently, however, an archaeological discovery has been made which has tended to revive the earlier view of an Asiatic home. This is the discovery in Eastern Turkestan of the documents of an unknown I.E. speech called Tocharian. It is a *centum* speech in close proximity to Sanskrit and Iranian, which are both *satam* tongues. This has suggested to some scholars the hypothesis that the centum tongues of Southern and Western Europe had their origin in Eastern Turkestan, the speakers of Tocharian remaining behind in the original home. It is true that Tocharian is a kind of linguistic island in the midst of a sea of *satam* tongues, but it is quite possible that there may have been a migration from the west, of the speakers of Tocharian. The important thing is that these different views all practically agree in finding the original I.E. home in the same great grassy plain of central Europe and Asia. A pastoral people might wander back and forth from end to end.

We can only conjecture the period of characterization of the speakers of primitive Indo-European. Clearly a group of people, possibly homogeneous, possibly, heterogeneous, constituted a common clan, spoke one language, had one culture and religion. The primitive I.E. culture and religion can to some extent be reconstructed from linguistic evidence. This original group must have been together for some thousands of years, before the dispersion began to take place.

The two most famous 'hiving' places of history have been the Arabian desert and the steppes of Turkestan. Life in both places is hard, in the first for obvious reasons, and in the second because of the extreme cold of winter and because of the progressive dessication from ancient times. Each region has produced virile populations, which quickly pass the limit of subsistence. Hence migration is necessary. From time immemorial the Arabs have been swarming forth from the Arabian desert. In the 3rd or 4th millenium B.C. they invaded the Euphrates Valley and set up a Semitic Empire. In 1300 B.C. the Hebrews emerged from the desert and effected the conquest of Palestine. In the 7th century A.D. the Arabs went forth under the banner of Islam 'conquering and to conquer.' Why did the Arabian desert, that is, the oases therein contained, ever become inhabited and so finally prove to be the hive of the Semitic race? It is difficult to say. Perhaps reverses in war compelled a small number in the prehistoric age to

take refuge in the desert, just as many an aboriginal tribe of India has taken refuge in the hills, and the British Celts took refuge in the mountains of Wales and Scotland.

It is easier to explain migration southward and westward from the steppes of Turkestan than it is to explain an eastward migration from southern Russia into Turkestan. Still the factors which produce migration are numerous. It is possible that reverses in war may have driven the primitive I.E. people into the wilds of Turkestan, where they developed during a long pastoral stage. Haddon remarks that "it is probable that a migration induced by an attraction is rare as compared with that produced by an expulsion",¹ which means that natural inertia and especially love for the familiar habitat tend to keep people at home. The expulsive causes of migration are lack of food due to failure of rain, locusts, dessication, over-population, destruction of crops, etc., and also defeat in battle, pressure of stronger tribes upon weaker, etc. The attractive causes of migration are (a) desire for a better climate and a more fertile soil, (b) the lure of the loot of populous cities, and (c) propaganda religious, political, etc., as the case may be. The programme of the Arabs in the seventh century was that of a religious propaganda: that of the French Revolution and of the Russian Soviet political propaganda. All of these motives for migration, both expulsive and attractive, may be strengthened by the weakness and defencelessness of tribes and nations occupying more favoured territory. Most of the above-mentioned motives have doubtless co-operated in producing the manifold and extensive migrations which have scattered peoples of I.E. speech over the whole earth.

The ethnological problem presented by the primitive Indo-Europeans may now be mentioned. Certain clans were sufficiently isolated so as to develop a common language, culture and religion. The original speakers of the primitive tongue were probably themselves a racial blend formed by the fusion of various northern strains of blood. The science of Ethnology is hardly more as yet than a collection of interesting data with various hypotheses more or less probable based thereon. There seems to be, however, some sort of general consensus as to the existence of at least three races found in Europe and extending far into the heart of Asia, namely, the Mediterranean race, the Alpine race and the Nordic race. The Nordics occupied the great plains to the north of the mountains of Central Europe and Asia. The speakers of primitive Indo-European probably formed a part at least, and perhaps the whole, of the Nordic race. The tribes which roamed from time immemorial over the great plains of Siberia, Turkestan and Russia may

¹ *Wanderings of Peoples*, p. 2.

have furnished the ethnological sources of the Indo-European racial blend, such for example as the pre-historic equivalents of the Śakas, Yuch-ehi, Hiung-nu, Wusun, Huns, Turks, Finns, etc. Quite likely one particular tribe furnished the linguistic unity, its speech becoming the adopted speech of other tribes and communities. It must have taken several thousand years to build the new linguistic, cultural and religious type.

We may perhaps distinguish between an earlier and a later dispersion. It is possible that as the I.E. clans increased in numbers, they ceased to hold together, but while remaining within their original habitat, divided among themselves their domain after the manner of Abraham and Lot. The one I.E. horde would thus become several hordes. Possibly the Indo-Iranian occupation of the region of Bactria belonged to this early dispersion. The later and more important dispersion, we may assume, covered the various migrations beyond the original borders, as for example that of the Indian Aryans into India, that of the Persian Aryans into Persia, and that of Greeks, Romans and Celts into southern and western Europe. During the earlier dispersion within the original borders amalgamation with neighbouring tribes may have gone on apace, new local blends being thus formed in all parts of the original I.E. world, and the area of I.E. speech being greatly extended. But the most important racial blends were undoubtedly formed during the later and more important dispersion. In this way were formed the various Aryo-Dravidian blends of India, the fusion of invading Greeks with the indigenous Minoans of the Mediterranean race, the fusion of the invading Latin tribes with the aboriginal tribes of Italy, and the racial blend constituted by the mixture of invading Jute, Angle, Saxon, Dane and Norman with the indigenous Celts of Britain, Anglo-Celts they should be called. In this way, too, were formed the great groups of Indo-European languages, Greek, Latin, Sanskrit, etc., for as Haddon (*op. cit.*, p. 11) says, they "mainly result from subject peoples having adopted the speech of their alien conquerors." It looks as if some of the fairest products of civilization were due to such racial fusion, for example the characteristic philosophy of India seems to be due neither to Aryan alone nor to Dravidian alone, but to their fusion; so with the supremacy of Greece in art and literature due doubtless to the amalgamation of Nordic Achaeans and Dorians with the early Mediterranean population of Greece; so also the greatness of Rome in government and law due most probably to the interaction of Nordic (or Alpine) and Mediterranean elements.

Ever since the first Aryan invasion, perhaps 1500 or 2000 B.C., India has been an important part of the Indo-European linguistic world. It borders upon the Mongolian world, and so represents the extreme eastern outpost of the I.E. language, culture and

religion. Of the 320 million inhabitants of the Indian Empire fully 200 millions or more speak languages of Aryan origin. The conception of Father Dyāus (=Zeus, Jupiter) and his children the Devas may be regarded as the kernel of ancient I.E. religion. The vast majority of those who to-day speak I.E. tongues are adherents of Semitic religions, either Christians or Moslems. The only exceptions of importance are the Hindus and the Parsees, both of which communities profess religions of Aryan origin. The well-known conservatism of Hinduism has succeeded in retaining many customs of the primitive days. Doubtless its relative isolation during the centuries has contributed to this. On the whole, it may be said with truth that India is a land of archaic survivals. The pre-Aryan or Dravidian stratum of India's population is commonly reckoned by ethnologists as belonging to the Mediterranean race. It was apparently the fusion of people of this race in India, Greece and Italy with Nordic or Alpine invaders that produced the special culture of India, Greece and Rome.

Europe is linguistically Indo-European. Its fundamental linguistic unity, as already stated, is spread over three main races, Nordic, Alpine and Mediterranean. All three races are assumed to extend as far as India, the Alpine race perhaps originating somewhere north of the Himalayas, and the Mediterranean race according to the views of some ethnologists entering Europe from the east by way of North Africa. The history of the Punjab is a story of numerous invasions through the western passes. It is possible that the long series of invasions and occupations of the Punjab and Sind by Aryans, Persians, Greeks, Sakas, Yueh-chi, White Huns, Gurjaras, etc., were nearly all conducted by speakers of I.E. tongues or at least by those who were related to them. It is one of the romances of history that Persians, Greeks and Sakas encountered in turn the people of the Punjab without any inkling apparently of their underlying linguistic unity. So was it also with the coming of those western speakers of I.E. tongues, Portuguese, Dutch, French and English. It was not until the unity of the I.E. family of languages was demonstrated that it was realised that India linguistically is one with these peoples from the far West. And if current ethnological hypotheses prove to be true, then there is not only the link of language, but also of blood. Not only did the invading Aryans leave their blood, however diluted, in the veins of their descendants in India, but also if the pre-Aryan peoples of India are largely of the Mediterranean race, then there is another racial link between India and Europe.

The Nordic peoples attained to culture only as they wandered from the frozen North and found homes in the more genial and sunny South. The earliest I.E. culture developed in the Punjab and in Greece. In Greece the Homeric age was about 1000 B.C. The

Vedic period in India we may place hypothetically between 1500 and 1000 B.C., or giving the widest limits, between 2000 and 500 B.C. "The period of Indo-European unity need not," as Keith says, "be placed earlier than 3000 B.C."¹

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¹ *The Early History of the Indo-Iranians* in Bhandarkar Commemoration Volume, Poona, 1917, p. 92.

Note on the passage of the Hydaspes by Alexander.

DR. J. HUTCHINSON.

The passage of the Hydaspes or Jehlam by Alexander in B.C. 326 has been the subject of much controversy, and is still more or less in dispute. The present Note is not meant as a survey of the whole field of discussion, but only as supplementary, in as far as it records some points which seem to have escaped the notice of both sides. At the time of Alexander's invasion of the Panjab there was one common road from the Indus to Taxila or Hassan Abdal. Beyond this point the road divided, one branch, called by Babur, "the upper road," proceeded by the Mārgala Pass through Rawalpindi and Manikiyāla to Damāk; it then descended by the bed of the Kahan river to Rohtās and over an open plain to Jehlam. The other road, called "the lower road," also proceeded by the Mārgala Pass to Jangi and then south-east by the Bhundhar river to Jalālpur on the Jehlam. It is not in dispute that Alexander must have advanced by one or other of these roads, and crossed the Hydaspes either near Jehlam or near Jalālpur. The two places are thirty miles apart.

The first writer to put forward an opinion on the subject seems to have been Elphinstone, the historian, and it was in favour of the Jalālpur route. Burnes on the other hand regarded the Jehlam route as the more probable line of advance, being "on the great road from Tartary." General Court, an officer in Ranjit Singh's army, fixed the Greek camp at Jehlam and the passage of the river some six or eight miles above Jehlam, and near the foothills. In 1848, General Abbott, after a very careful survey of the ground, published an "elaborate disquisition," as Cunningham calls it, in support of the position of Burnes and Court. Last of all, Sir Alexander Cunningham undertook a study of the whole subject, and in 1863, gave his conclusions in the *Journal of the Archaeological Survey* on the side of Elphinstone.

Turning now to the Greek historians of Alexander's campaign—Ptolemy, Arrian, etc., and other ancient writers, such as Strabo and Q. Curtius, we find in their works interesting references which, carefully studied, seem to leave little doubt regarding the place where the crossing was effected and the battle with Poros was fought. One such reference is found in Strabo, who states that

“ Alexander’s route as far as the Hydaspes lay for the most part towards the south, and thereafter to the Hypanis (Bias) more towards the East.”¹ To this he adds “ all throughout, however, it was nearer to the country at the foot of the mountains than to the plains ” and “ that Alexander adopted this line of march because the rivers that traverse it could be crossed with greater facility near their sources than lower down.”²

The last statement doubtless covers the entire route from Taxila to the Bias and has an important bearing on the whole question at issue. There is good reason for believing that from remote times the line of route of advancing and retreating armies was along the foot of the hills. There are statements in the ancient writers which lend strong support to this view. Curtius tells us that, at the point of crossing, the Hydaspes was confined by high banks and rushed in a seething torrent over sunken rocks, on which one boat was wrecked. Cunningham states that there are rocks in the bed of the Jehlam at Kotera, Meriāla, Malikpur, and Shālī Kabīr, all of which places are a little above Jalālpur. This seems at first sight to tell in favour of his conclusions, but it has to be borne in mind that there are also rocks in the channel above Jehlam. The evidence of the sunken rocks, pointing to proximity to the hills, is thus indecisive in the case of the Jehlam. But the physical features of the country above Jehlam in recent times provide somewhat stronger evidence in favour of the “ the upper road.” General Abbott states that in 1848, the river was “ so exactly as described by Alexander’s historians that the map then made might seem to be an ancient rather than a modern production.”

In none of the works of recent writers on the subject is any reference to be found to the other Panjab rivers crossed by Alexander, *viz.* the Akesines (Chinab) Hydraotes (Ravi) and Hyphasis (Bias). Cunningham assumed that after crossing the Jehlam at Jalālpur and his battle with Poros, Alexander marched south to Wazirabad or Sodhira to cross the Chinab, and then on to the Ravi at Lahore, or to the places now indicated by these names. Now it is just at this point that important evidence is available which has been overlooked by both sides to the controversy. This evidence occurs in the *Anabasis of Arrian* where, dealing with the crossing of the Akesines (Chinab) he remarks: “ Ptolemy the son of Lagos has described the size of this river alone of those in India, stating that where Alexander crossed it with his army on boats and skins the stream was rapid and the channel was full of large sharp rocks over which the water being violently carried seethed and dashed ” “ those who went over on skins had an easy

¹ *Ancient India*, p. 33. McCrindle.

² Strabo, XV. 26, V. A. Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 71.

passage, but those who crossed in the boats perished there in the water: many of the boats being wrecked on the rocks and dashed to pieces." ¹ Now there are no rocks in the channel of the Chināb much below Aknur where the river leaves the hills, and assuredly there are none at Sodhra or Wazirabad where he is supposed to have crossed. Supposing Alexander to have crossed the Jehlam at Jakdpur it is hardly conceivable that he would march in a north-easterly direction to Aknur and then due south to the Ravi at Lahore. It was the middle of a very severe rainy season when the whole of the plains would be in a swampy condition; very unsuitable for marching, and much of the land under water. The route which held out the best hope of fairly good marching in such conditions was undoubtedly that near the foot of the hills. Between the Jehlam and Bias the Greek army was exposed for seventy days to violent storms of rain.

Again the whole account of the crossing, both at the Jehlam and Chinab: the tumult of waters, seething and dashing on sharp or sunken rocks: the use of skins or *dreins* as they are called, so common in the outer hills but not on the plains; the boats dashed to pieces on the rocks by the fury of the current; all these things so familiar to those living in the hills, point to the passage of both rivers having been made where they debouch on the plains.

On his advance from the Chenab to the Ravi, Alexander must have passed close to Siālkot, the ancient Sākala, and the Sāgala of Buddhist literature. Siālkot is a very ancient city and, as Sākala, is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*. It was visited by the Chinese Pilgrim in A.D. 630. In the ancient records it is said to stand on the bank of the Apagā river; identified with the Ayak, from the Jammu hills, which passes close to the town and is usually almost dry except in the rainy season. To the south of Sodhra it contains a considerable volume of water, and it also passes Sangalawāla Tibba which Cunningham identified with Sākala and the Sāngala of Alexander's historians.

The passage of the Hydraotes (Rāvi) was probably made somewhere near Pathānkot, ancient *Pratishṭāna*, or between it and Gurlāspur. It also is a place of great antiquity and was in existence long before the Christian era. Arrian states that the passage was made with less difficulty than that of the Akesines, owing to the fact that the river flowed with a slower current, and there is no mention of rocks in the channel. This would be a very correct description of the flow in the Ravi at the present time near the foot of the low hills.

There is very little to guide us as to the place where the Hyphasis or Biās was reached. There his war-weary and home-sick

¹ *Anabasis of Alexander*, trans, Chinnook, p. 299.

soldiers refused to advance any farther and the river was not crossed. But we are told that Alexander erected twelve altars of stone, like high towers, on the far bank, and the stone must have come from the Kāngra hills. It was probably the sandstone of the Siwālik range, and this would indicate that the Greek camp was not far from the outer ranges, or possibly the altars were erected well into the interior of the hills, there being no stone on the plains.

There is a curious tradition recorded in Ferishta, in connection with the capture of Kangra Fort by Firoz Shāh Tughlak A.D. 1350-88, referring to the visit of Alexander to Kangra. It is as follows: "The people of Nagarkot told Firoz that Alexander visited Kangra and left the idol which was the image of his wife, named Naushaba, which the Brahmans had made when the conqueror was in these parts and placed within their temple, and that the image was the idol of the people of the country. The name by which it was then known was Jawai-Mukhi."¹ This is doubtless a reference to the goddess of Bhawan a suburb of Kangra. The tradition seems now to be unknown in Kangra, but it is interesting as being possibly a popular reminiscence of an actual event.

Moorcroft who visited Raja Sanār Chand of Kangra at Tira Sujanpur in 1820, has recorded an interesting presentation to himself on that occasion of a profile of Alexander the Great. He writes: "Amongst these latter (family portraits) were two profiles of Alexander the Great of which Anirudha gave me one. It represents him with prominent features and auburn hair flowing over his shoulders; he wears a helmet on his head begirt with a string of pearls, but the rest of the costume is Asiatic. The Raja could not tell me whence the protrait came, he had become possessed of it by inheritance."²

At the time of Alexander's invasion the ancestors of the Rajas of Kangra are said to have been ruling in Jalandhar which was their original capital. We may perhaps conjecture that the Raja who is referred to in the histories as ruling to the south of the Bias, that is in the Jalandhar Doab, actually waited on Alexander as other Rajas had done. There is thus nothing improbable in the supposition that Alexander visited Kangra from his camp near the foot of the hills.

In addition to all this there is another very interesting and suggestive reference in Strabo, which seems to corroborate the view that Alexander kept near the foot-hills all the time he was in the Panjab. After crossing the Hydaspes (Jehlam) Alexander marched to the Akesines (Chinab) through the territory of Poros, an extensive and fertile district containing about 300 cities. Strabo then

¹ C. Ferishta, 1908. Vol. I, pp. 453-.. *Tarikh-i-Firoz Shāh* Elliot, Vol. III. 318

² Moorcroft, *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 145.

adds: "Here in the neighbourhood of the Emodoi (Himalaya) mountains is the forest where Alexander cut a great quantity of pine, fir, cedar and various other trees fit for ship building. This timber he brought down the Hydaspes and with it constructed a fleet on that river near the two cities which he founded on its opposite banks, where he crossed it and conquered Poros."¹ Now cedar forests as we know are not found much below 6,000 ft. and the Greeks must have had to penetrate far into the mountains to obtain this timber, or even pine in large quantity. This would be possible only with a large force for support in case of need. It is clear from the narrative that Alexander returned from the Biās by the way he came, and to the same point on the Hydaspes where he had ordered two cities to be founded to commemorate his victory and the loss of his favourite charger. It seems very improbable that he would plant his ship-building yard any farther away from the source of supply than he could help, especially as all the timber had to be floated down the Jehlam from a considerable distance within the hills. A friend formerly in the Forest Department and acquainted with the tract in the Jehlam Valley writes that pine wood (*Chīl*) may have been procurable within 50 miles from Jehlam, but cedar and fir grow much farther up the valley, and may not have been available much under 200 miles from the plains. It would thus have taken a long time to bring down deodar logs from such a distance and it therefore seems probable that pine or *chīl* was the timber chiefly used. The work of building the boats was probably begun in May and by the end of October B.C. 326 all was ready and the fleet set sail.²

The country between the Chināb and Jehlam, in the outer hills, was called *Dārrabhisāra*, a few centuries after the time of Alexander, and may have had this name when he was in the Panjab. The name is tribal from the tribes *Dārva* and *Abhisāra* which inhabited it, and the Raja of the tract is several times referred to in the ancient records under the tribal name of *Abisāres*. He seems to have been the lord-paramount of the whole region from the Indus to the Chināb and on finally giving in his submission at the Chināb, he was appointed Viceroy of the tract, as Alexander was about to start on his voyage. Where his capital was we do not know but it may have been at Rājapuri (Rajauri).

In conclusion the whole trend of the narrative in the ancient authors, seems to confirm the view of those who hold that the passage of the Hydaspes was made near Jehlam; most probably about 17 miles above the town and opposite the Khari plain, where the

¹ *Ancient India*. McCrindle, p. 35

² It is interesting to note that the Jehlam seems to have continued to be the ordinary water-way from Karachi down to the time of the Mutiny.

local physical features are much the same as they were in B.C. 326. As Vincent Smith remarks after a careful sifting of the evidence on both sides : " I have not the slightest doubt that Alexander marched to the Hydaspes by the shortest and easiest route open to him ; that he struck the river at or near Jehlam where he pitched his camp ; that he crossed the stream where it was rocky and narrow, a little below the point where it emerges from the hills, and that the battle with Poros was fought on the Karri plain." ¹

Cunningham's principal reason for so strongly advocating Alexander's advance by the lower road seems to have been his identification of Sāṅgalawāla Tibba with the ancient Sākala or Sāgala. In this he was quite mistaken. If the Sāṅgala of Alexander's historians was the Sākala of Sanskrit literature then Siālkot must have been the place ; and there are not a few considerations in support of this, if with Cunningham we suppose that Alexander recrossed the Rāvī before making three forced marches against the Kathaioi. The place could not have lain in the direction of the Biās, for that river is only 16 miles distant from the Rāvī at Pathānkot. The only other direction in which he could have marched for 60 miles without crossing the Rāvī is towards Lahore. As regards the physical features, the low hill referred to in the old writings may have been the high mound on which the fort till recently stood, and which must always have been outside the city in former times. Then there can be little doubt that a lake of considerable size, though shallow, existed to the south of Siālkot town, in the low-lying ground where even now water often accumulates in the rainy season. The Apagā or Ayak stream too is near which often overflows its banks in heavy floods. The central portion of the town, which was doubtless the original nucleus, stands high and must have been fortified in ancient times.

The above remarks are thrown out as a suggestion only.

¹ Early History of India, p. 78.

A Note on the History of the Burning Glass.

DR. LAKSHMAN SARUP.

Popularly the burning glass is associated with the name of Archimedes (c. 287–212 B.C.) born at Syracuse, in Sicily. There is a story that he hung up huge reflectors and focussing the rays of the sun on the sails of the Roman ships when they were within a bow-shot of the harbour walls, caused the whole fleet to be burnt. The story however seems to be a later invention for it is mentioned neither by Polybius, nor Livy, nor Plutarch. Archimedes was a man of science. Not only did he discover important laws and invent several useful things but he also wrote scientific treatises. His reputation was great and wide-spread. His contemporaries were very much impressed by his remarkable achievements and all sorts of things came to be attributed to him. On the other hand, he knew the law of refraction of light,—a remark from his lost work *κατοπτρικά* being quoted by Theon of Alexandria—, it may be safely assumed that he was familiar with the law of reflection of heat and light. He wrote a work entitled *περὶ σφαίροποιίας* ‘sphere-making,’ which has been lost, so after all he may have constructed some burning instrument, with which the story of the Roman fleet came to be associated.

In any case, it is certain that Archimedes is not the first to discover the law of reflection of heat and light or to construct a burning glass. References to burning glasses can be traced to a remoter antiquity in Greek Literature, and the following passage from Aristophanes, *The Clouds*¹ will be enough to support this statement :—

Soc.—Capital ! But I will again propose to you another clever question. If a suit of five talents should be entered against you, tell me how you would obliterate it.

Streph.—I have found a very clever method of getting rid of my suit.

Soc.—Of what description ?

Streph.—Have you ever seen this stone in the chemist's shops, the beautiful and transparent one, from which they kindle fire ?

¹ English trans. by W. J. Hickie. London 1884, Vol. 1, p. 148.

The Clouds was written c. 423 B.C.

Aristophanes c. 450–C. 385 B.C

Soc.—Do you mean the burning glass ?

Step.—I do. Come, what would you say, pray, if I were to take this, when the clerk was entering the suit, and were to stand at a distance, in the direction of the sun, thus and melt out the letters of my suit ?

In India, however, the law of the reflection of heat and light was discovered at a still earlier period and burning instruments were used for practical purposes. The poetic and the creative age of the Vedic *Samhitās* was followed by the prosaic period of the *Brāhmaṇas* when the creative talent had practically exhausted itself and ritualistic practices were elaborated in an unprecedented manner. The performance of sacrifice was regarded as one of the most important, perhaps the most important function of life as even the gods were controlled by sacrifice, the right performance of which was therefore most desirable. It would be needless to point out that every minute detail connected with sacrifice, e.g. the altar, the brick, the stick, the grass, etc., was regarded as sacred. The degree of sacredness of a particular object was in direct proportion to its distance from earth, e.g. atmospheric objects were more sacred than terrestrial objects while celestial things were the most sacred. It was held that there were three kinds of fires or three different forms of the one and the same fire : (1) terrestrial ; (2) atmospheric, i.e. lightning ; (3) celestial, i.e. the sun. Each latter was more sacred and therefore more efficacious than the former. The desire of the sacrificer was to sacrifice with celestial fire. The gods will be better pleased and he will win better reward. This necessity resulted in the discovery of the law of reflection and focussing of heat and light. The earliest reference to the production of fire direct from the sun rays is found in the *Nirukta* of Yāska. Oriental scholars differ with regard to the date of Yāska. A general unanimity fixes his lower limit as not later than 500 B.C. while the upper limit is carried as far back as 700–800 B.C. Probably the truth lies in the golden mean. It may therefore be assumed that Yāska lived c. 600 B.C. He is not the first discoverer of the law but describes the process of focussing the rays of the sun. He also describes how to get fire from the atmospheric form, i.e. lightning. These methods were probably handed down by oral tradition. The passage is the following :—

Nirukta 7. 23.

अयमेवाग्निर्वैश्वानर इति प्राक्पूणिः । विश्वानरावेते उत्तरे ज्योतिषौ ।

वैश्वानरोऽयं यत्ताभ्यां जायते ।

कथं न्वयमेताभ्यां जायत इति । यत्र वैद्युतः शरगमभिहन्ति यावदनुपात्तो

भवति मध्यमधर्मेव तावद् भवति ।.....उपादीयमान एवायं सम्यद्यते ।
उदकोपशमनः शरीरदीप्तिः ।

अथादित्यात् । उदीचिप्रथमसमाहृत आदित्ये कंसं वा मणिं वा परिमृज्य
प्रतिखरे यत्र शुष्कगोमयमसंस्पर्शयन् धारयति तत् प्रदीप्यते । सोऽयमेव
संपद्यते ।

The following is my English translation of the passage :—

‘ This very (i.e. terrestrial) fire is Vaiśvānara,’ says Śākāpūri. The upper two lights (i.e. atmospheric and celestial lights = the lightning and the sun) are called Viśvānara. This (terrestrial) fire is called Vaiśvānara (i.e. born of Viśvānara) because it is engendered from them (i.e. the upper lights).

But how it is engendered from them ? When the lightning fire strikes a place of shelter (e.g. a tree. Durga) and as long as (that object) is not seized upon, it retains the characteristics of the atmospheric fire. . . . But as soon as it is seized upon, this very (terrestrial) fire is produced which becomes extinguished in water and blazes in solid bodies.

Now (the following is the process of its production) from the sun. The sun having first revolved towards the northern hemisphere (i.e. after the vernal equinox), a person holds a polished (piece of) white copper, or crystal, focussing the sun-rays in a place where there is some dry cow-dung, without touching it : it blazes forth, and this very (terrestrial) fire is produced.”

It is interesting to see how the same motive repeats itself in Europe. Orpheus has the following passage in the *Orphica, verses* 170–184 : “ The deity cannot resist the prayers of him who bearing in his hand a refulgent and transparent crystal, betakes himself into a temple : his wish will surely be granted. When crystal is placed on dry wood-shavings, while the sun-rays strike it, smoke will soon arise, then fire, and at last a bright flame, regarded as sacred fire. No sacrifice is more pleasing to gods than when offered by means of such fire.”

Burning glasses were known to the Arabs in the 12th century A.D. Ibn-al-Baytar Nabatī Maliki Abu Muḥ’d Abdullah, a pupil of the famous botanist Abū’l Abbas, was born in 1197 A.D. in the native town of Malaga. Later he migrated to Seville and in 1219 A.D. he set out on a voyage of exploration in the East. He was patronised by Najmuddin, the Sultan of Egypt. He travelled in Syria, Mesopotamia and penetrated as far as India. He wrote several works but his master-piece is his *Materia Medica* entitled *Jāmi’u Mufradāt-al-Adwiyah wal-Aghdhiyah*, translated into French by Leclerc in 1887. I quote the following passage :—

C’est une espèce de verre.. on le trouve dans la mer indienne

... Frappé par le fer trempé, elle donne d'abondantes étincelles. La première sorte n'est autre que le cristal. Si l'on expose cette pierre aux rayons du soleil, que l'on observe les rayons qu'elle émet, et que l'on soumette à ces rayons un morceau de linge noir, il s'enflamme et se consume ; et si l'on veut, par ce moyen, obtenir du feu, on peut l'employer.¹

Thus the history of the burning glass can be traced to a remote antiquity. This incidentally shows us that the extraordinary sacred character of sacrifice and an ever-growing desire on the part of the sacrificer to perform it in the best possible way in order to win the best reward was responsible for the discovery of this important law. It is probable it was first discovered in India as the ancient Chinese are not known to have possessed this knowledge. No reference to it is found in classical works like *Shuking*, *Semachêng*, *Lie-tse*, *Huai-man-tse*, etc.

¹ C. 2183. French trans. by Leclerc. Paris 1877. Vol. 3rd, p. 342.

Ahmad Shah Abdali and a Hindu Swami.

PARMANAND ARORA, M.A.

The 18th century witnessed the birth of a great Hindu Sanyasi and traveller in the person of Swami Pran Puri¹ Urdhbahu, whose figure looms large in the pages of history. He was surnamed *Urdhbahu* because, unlike another great Yogi traveller—Pransutantra Parkashanand Swami¹ (whose devotions consisted in fixing himself on a bed of spikes, where he constantly day and night remained) he kept his arms fixed unalterably above his head. The date of his birth is not known, but it is certain that he commenced his travels in the middle of the 18th century. He is said to have visited almost all the holy places in India and to have penetrated, with a band of pilgrims into distant hostile regions beyond this country. He met with warm reception at the hands of Hindu brethren settled² at several places at Afghanistan, Persia, Russia and the adjoining countries. In the account of his travels we learn that after passing through Khorasan, Meshhad, Astrabad, etc., he reached the celebrated Temple of Maha Jawala Mukhi at Surakhani³ situated some ten miles from Baku, in what is commonly called the Region of Everlasting Fire. Here he sojourned eleven months and obtained a passage to Astrakhan, from whence he proceeded to Moscow, the sovereign of which place was, he observes, a lady.

The most interesting event connected with his travels is his meeting with Ahmad Shah Abdali, one of the greatest Asiatic sovereigns. In the course of his rambles he fell in with the army of this monarch in the close vicinity of Ghazni. The Abdali King had got an ulcer in his nose and had failed to get relief from it by indigenous medical aid. On hearing of the arrival of the Swami he consulted him and requested him to prescribe a remedy for it. But the Swami had no knowledge of surgery and medicine. He had, therefore, recourse to his wits by insinuating to the Prince that there subsisted a connection between the ulcer and his sovereignty, so that it was not safe to seek to get rid of the one, lest it might risk the loss of the other. This suggestion met with the approbation of the Prince!

¹ *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. V, pages 37-52, Article, "An account of two Fakeers with their portraits" by Jonathan Duncan, who was for sometime Governor of Bombay. For Pran Puri see also *Asiatick Researches*, Vol. IV, p. 381, Art. "A dissertation on Semiramis, the origin of Mecca, etc., from the Hindu sacred books," by Lieutenant Wilford.

² For an account of Hindu settlements at these and several other places see my paper on "An account of the Hindu Temple of Maha Jawala Mukhi at Baku, in the Trans-caucasus Province of Russia."

³ *Ibid.*

Hāsham Shāh.

The famous poet of Maharaja Ranjit Singh's Court.

Paper read by BAWA BUDH SINGH, Oct. 31st. 1922.

Hāsham Shāh was born in the year 1166 A.H. in the village of Jagdeo near Amritsar. His father was named Kāsam Shāh and was a carpenter by profession. Hasham had no school education worth the name, but his mind was an open receptacle for lessons of Nature: if his tools probed into the heart of wood, his intellect searched for mysteries of the human mind. Poetry was a heaven's gift to him. It was not long before he came to the Maharaja's notice. At the demise of the Maharaja's father—Sardar Mahan Singh, all poets wrote elegies, and young Hasham had also the courage to write one. Every one wondered when his elegy was considered to be the best of all those read at the Darbar of Mourning. Thus came a young carpenter to be transformed into a full fledged poet. He at once was allotted a State stipend, and thus freed from anxiety for livelihood, he devoted his time to verse and soon rose to pre-eminence amongst the poets of the Maharaja's Court. Most of the poets in those days recited their verses in Persian or Hindi, the languages of the learned in those times. But Hāsham was a rustic Panjabi, one who spoke in the language of the masses. Mysteries of human heart and Nature were an open book to him. He read sentiment like a prophet. Thus being master of Panjabi sentiment and thought, he expressed it in the choicest phrases and with masterful poetic instinct. Such verse as his, was sure to outstrip others in their fame, those who simply knew the niceties and conceits of a foreign tongue. Thus circumstanced Hāsham soon became, the chief poet of the Maharaja's Court.

As usual other poets became jealous of him and used to sarcastically repeat the Panjabi saying "Soi rāni jo khasme bhāni," 'she is the queen, who is acceptable to the husband.' The Maharaja became so much enamoured of Hasham's verse, that he always summoned him, to his presence whenever he wanted recreation and a diversion from the heavy burdens of State. By and by his poetry gained so great an influence over the Maharaja, that once when the Maharaja was very ill he summoned Hasham to his bedside and commanded him to recite to him his favourite

verses, which Hasham did and the Maharaja recovered. The quatrain which the Maharaja liked best, ran:—

Kāmal shauq māhī dā mainū, nīṭ rahe jigar vich vasdā lū lū
rasdā

Rājhan bēparwāhi kardā, ate koi guṇāh nā dasdā, uṭh uṭh asdā
Jyō jyō hāl sunāwā rovā ate vekh tattī val hasdā, zarā nā
khasdā

Hāsham! kamm nehī har kasdā, ate āshaq hoṇ daras dā, birhō
rasdā.

Profound desire to meet the beloved, abideth all the time in my heart, not in the heart alone but in every hair—hole of the skin.

Rāñjhā showeth great inattention, and doth not assign any reason for this attitude of his, when I question him about this, he runneth away.

The more I open my heart to him and shed tears, the more he laugheth at my distress.

Hāsham saith, it is not the business of every one to be a lover of Beauty, and to taste pangs of separation.

When the Maharaja showed interest in Pāñjabī poetry, the Darbaris followed suit. Panjabi bards came into prominence. Kādaryār another poet of the time became a favourite of the Sardars. Hasham's pre-eminence did not rest on his being a Panjabi poet, but on the worth of his poetry, which showed great insight into the human mind. He was a poet of humanity. He unfolded beautifully the sentiments of the human mind and thus appealed direct to the hearts of his hearers. His style is pithy and effective. He does not say superfluous things. He says a thing and says it to the point. He surpasses Wāris in his brevity and effect. He always wrote in quatrains and every line of a quatrain surpasses its predecessor in effect, while the climax is reached in the last line, in which the poet generally imports some intelligible message to his hearers. He wrote several stories in verse—e.g. Sassī Punmū, Shīrīn Farhād, etc., and besides them several hundreds of quatrains. It is in the latter that Hāsham evolves his philosophy of love. His imagination soars to very high regions bordering on Sūfism, to which all the poets of the East try to lead, by their genuine or sophisticated poetry. But Hāsham carries us, like Hafiz, to those Olympian heights on the wings of love. But unlike Umar Khayam and Hafiz he does not invoke the help of wine and woman. His appeal is to love direct. Hāsham explains in his inimitable way that "It is not an easy thing to enter the arena of love. It is a game of life and death. Only he carries the field who sacrifices his life at the altar of Cupid."

I might add here, that the idea of love in the East (specially in India) is not essentially sensual, it is not Cupid which attracts so much as the ideal of love. Love becomes a holy sacrament with a lover, which should not be broken even at the sacrifice of life. It begins with the flowery shafts of the blind child, but at once passes into the higher and purer regions where love is worshipped for its own sake. Sohni could have saved herself and seen the lover next day, by not attempting to cross the boisterous river on an unburnt earthen pot : but by doing so, she would have failed in her ideal, she would have valued her life more than her desire to see her lover and thus would have blurred the ideal. The lover is attached to the beloved not by the fragile threads of beauty and attraction, not by the idea of sensual pleasure, but by the steel chains of the ideal of love—the ideal sanctified by burning spiritual fire of holy saints and the Gurus. Flesh may turn into dust but true friends cannot be separated. Space and time may intervene between them, separate their bodies, but union of their souls is indissoluble. It is with this ideal before them that lovers play the game of love. The two merge their individuality into one. A poet puts the following words into the mouth of Hir :—

Rāñjhan Rāñjhan kardī nī mai āpē Rāñjhan hōī

‘Saddō nī mǎinū Dhīdū Rāñjhā Hīr nā ākhō kōī.

“By reciting the name of my beloved Rāñjhā, I have myself become Rāñjhā.”

Henceforth, call me Dhīdū Rāñjhā and not Hīr.

Says Hāsham :—

Har har posat de vich dosat, oh dosat rūp vaṭāwē

Dosat tak na paūhehē kōī, eh posat chā bhulāwē

Dosat khās pachhāne tāi jad posat khāk rulāwē

Hāsham Shāh jad dosat pāwē, tad posat val kad jāwē.

In everything resideth the beloved,

but that beloved changeth appearance,

No one can reach the beloved,

because he is deceived by the appearance (body)

Beloved can only be known,

Sayeth Hāsham, when the body is burnt to ashes.

When one meeteth the beloved,

he no more seeketh the body.

Again the poet addresses the prospective lovers and presents to them his ideal of Love :—

Sambhal khet sambhāl ishaq dā hūn niklī teg miānō

Khā mar zair piārī karke, je lāī hai es dukānō

Sir dewan dā sāk ishaq dā, hōr nafā nā akal giānō

Hāsham bājh moeā nehī bandī asī diṭṭhā bed kurānō.

Be steady and take care of the field of love after full thought now the blade has been unsheathed.

It is like unsheathing a sword and one should be prepared to receive the blow.

If thou hast purchased a dose of poison from this shop (of love) swallow it with pleasure and die calmly.

The connection with love means the offering of one's head; otherwise there is no gain to be got out of it, by wisdom or learning.

Hāsham sayeth the ideal of love cannot be achieved without dying. I have understood it so from the study of the Koran and the Vedas.

Again :—

Rakkhî lāj nakajj nā hōvî, ethe pair pachhā nā dharnā

Zaihr khurāk banāi āpe ate marṇ kolō kyū ḍarṇā

Chamkī chikhā ishaq dī piāre ethe sābat hō jal marṇā

Hāsham eh kamāl ishaq dā jō sīs agābhā dharnā

Uphold honour, be not shameless, on this path no step taken is to be retraced.

Make "poison" (pangs of separation) thy food, and dispel the fear of death.

The pyre of love is burning bright, thou hast to cremate thyself bravely on it.

Hāsham sayeth, to sacrifice one's head at the altar of love, is the highest consummation of "Ishaq."

He illustrates his idea thus :—

Taṇ dī chikhā banāwe dīpak tā ān jalan parwāne

Ḥāmīar hōr hazārā disde, par os patang dīwāne

Apnā āp banāwe kole, so kare kabāb begāne

Hāsham rahī dilā dī dil vich, hor jādū sehr bahāne.

The candle makes its body a funeral pyre, before moths come and burn over it.

Otherwise there are thousands of other fires visible to the mad moth (but he does not go to them).

He who first burns himself to ashes, can dare to roast others into "kabābs."

Sayeth Hāsham, attraction between the two hearts is mutual and heaven ordained, to win a heart by "jādū" is useless.

Love in the East is semi-spiritual. Majnūn was so much absorbed in his thought of Lailā that he could see nothing but Lailā all around in the Universe. When Hazrat Husain went to see the love intoxicated Majnūn in his retreat in Najd, Majnūn exclaimed, "Is it Lailā"? This concentration of the mind can only be attained by a "Yogī" or a lover. One sees God in all things and the other, his beloved. How to differentiate one from the other?

Echo answers how ? The lover deifies his beloved, matter vanishes and the soul shines, it is only a step from the land of love to the regions of the soul. A little more searching within and boundaries vanish. One has to look at a beloved through a lover's eyes. Hir is made to exclaim :—

Māe baiṭh akkhī vich vekhī mainū chāk kehō jihā disdā
Hāsham pīr tise taṇ howe, koi ghāo dukhāwe jisdā
Bele magar tinhā de chīre, jihdā nām nahī putt kisdā
Kheṛe chhoṛ mālī war pācō koi shān libās nā jisdā

Oh mother take thy seat in my eyes and see how the herd—boy (Rānjhā) appears to me.

Sayeth Hāsham, only he whose wounds have been scraped, feeleth the pain.

I have wandered in thickets of the river islands in search of him, whose name and parentage is not known.

I have rejected the Khērās, and accepted the beloved, who has no position and no fine clothes.

Describing Sassi's bad plight after the flight of Punnū, the poet says :—

Sassi palk nā hassī dissī, jehṛī kuṭṭhī teg nazar dī
Sun loko koi merā hokā, māī muṭṭhī nīd fajar dī
Māe māīmar jānḍī jamdī kyū saihndī sūl hijar dī
Hāsham lekḥ Sassi de āhe, chō kismat kalam kaihar dī

Not a smile stole on Sassi's lips, after she was smitten by the sword of a beloved's glance.

Oh people, hark, what I say, cursed be the morning slumber which has cheated me of my lover.

“ Oh, had I died soon after birth, I would have been spared these pangs of separation.”

Hāsham sayeth, this was Sassi's destiny—the writing of the cruel pen of Fate.

The poet declares, love is of two kinds :—

There is one tree, one quality and one taste. Of this tree are born two fruits, one is called the material love and the other spiritual.

But in Shīrīn the poet says “ Of this tree, material love is the flower and spiritual love the fruit,” thereby meaning that material love culminates in spiritual love.

Again when adoring the beauty of his beloved the poet says :—

Chandā chamak vikhāl nā sānū, ate nā kar mām vadherā
Tāī jahe lakḥ charḥan, asānū par sajnā bājḥ andherā
Jis diṭṭheā dil rōshan hove, oh husan nahī aj terā
Hāsham bājḥ tusā dukh pācō, jhab ā mil Sājan merā

Oh moon, show not thy brilliance to me,
 and pride not thyself on thy moon-shine.
 Millions of moons like thee may shine in the sky, but in the
 absence of my beloved it is all darkness for me.
 Oh, Moon, thou appearest to lack that brightness to-night which
 cheereth the heart.
 Sayeth Hāsham, Oh my beloved, in thy absence I have already
 suffered much now come and meet, delay no more.

Dūr nikāb kītā dilbar nē, ate chamkī teg miāno
 Yā oh bark abr sēo niklī, yā hūr dīggi asmānō
 Dēkh Shalūid hoe dil ghāel, ate guzre es jahānō
 Hāsham zāhidā zohd bhulācā ate rehī kalām zabānō

When the beloved unveiled her face, it was as if a sword had been
 unsheathed.
 Lightning had flashed out of a cloud or a Houri had descended
 from the heaven.
 The hearts of the onlookers were stabbed by her glances and they
 passed into the next world.
 Hāsham sayeth, the holy men forsook their piety and forgot
 recitation of the Holy name.

Addressing his beloved the poet says :—

Tainū husan kharāb krendā, te mainū samajh satācā
 Jyū jyū ān husan dī samjhā, mainū uṭhdā sūl swācā.

If possession of beauty is the cause of thy perturbation, its know-
 ledge is the chief source of my trouble.
 The more I think of homage due to thy beauty, the more pain I
 suffer.

A woman appeals to clouds, to create an excuse for her hus-
 band's stay at home :—

Meghaleā vass bhāgī bhareā, tudh aujhar des vasāc
 Bhalke pher karī jhar āiwē merā piyā pardes nā jāc.

Oh auspicious clouds, thou bringest life to the parching fields by
 showering rain.
 Pray, appear again like this to-morrow, so that my lover may not
 be able to go out on his journey.

Reverting to the stories written by Hasham, his master-piece
 "Sassi" was noticed at length by Sir (then Captain) R. C. Temple,
 in his *Legends of the Punjab*. He gave therein an abbreviated
 version of the story.

In his *Shūrīn Farhād*, a Syrian love story, Hasham failed to
 attain that excellence of style and idea which he reached in his
 "Sassi."

The story of Shirin Farhad. Farhad was a painter boy who was working with his father in the king's palace. He saw "Shirin" (The sweet), the king's daughter and fell in love with her. The girl also was attracted by the sight of the handsome boy. The painter boy forgot his work and painted sketches of Shirin on walls. The love became a palace scandal. Farhad was imprisoned and given all sorts of inducements to give up the game, but lovers know not death or world. At last a plot was hatched to destroy Farhad. He was summoned to Court and a promise was given to him that if he succeeded in cutting a canal through the rocks and bringing water to the capital he would get Shirin as his reward. None imagined at that time that Farhad would succeed in this impossible task. But he at once set to work and the story says he succeeded at last in his task. This upset the king and he contrived to play a mean trick with the true lover. A wily woman was hired to manage Farhad's destruction at the time of his triumph. The woman went into the hills in the disguise of a mendicant. She saw Farhad and congratulated him on his success, but with tears and sobs expressed wonder at God's acts, and so trickily announced to him the news of Shirin's piteous death, that poor Farhad could not stand this blow and at once shattered his own brains with the axe with which he had successfully cut the rock. The king was relieved of Farhad's existence after all, but another tragedy was destined to follow in the palace. Shirin came to know of the death of her lover through some agent, and as a true lover herself could not bear the separation any longer and passed away instantly. The two lovers after all met in death.

Talking of Farhad's falling at first sight in love with Shirin, the poet says :—

Chhuṭṭā tīr birhō dā maihlō, zālam ishaq chalācā
 Betaksīr majūrā ājaz, nāhaq mār gavāēā
 Likhnā bhull geā Farhāde, atkī nazar diwārā
 Chaunke sāg jharokhe vālī, murke naqash nigārā.

Cupid shot a shaft of love from the palace at Farhad and killed the poor labourer.

Farhad forgot his painting and his eyes were rivetted to the palace window.

In the painting on the walls he saw reflections of the flash he had seen in the window.

The poet says of material love :—

Ishaq majāzī mushkal bāzī jis tan lagge soī
 Mār fanāh kare darmāndā sābat rehā nā koī
 Khūnī birhō kare malālī, kise nā pār langhāwe
 Bhar bhar pūr āshakāwāle baihr amik ḍubāwe.

Love's is a difficult game, only he knows who has been smitten by it.

It destroys a lover, hence very few prove true lovers.

The blood—thirsty separation acts as a boatswain at the ferry of love, but takes no one safely across the stream.

Having loaded the boat with "lovers" it drowns them in the deep mid-ocean.

Talking of jealousy of the people of this world, specially towards a lover, the poet depicts it graphically :—

Ashaq nāl rakīb hameshā, zālam railmdā kāem

Tarf māshūq nā vekhan dendā hijrat rakkhe dāem

Par eh lok hameshā Hāsham nehi khiāl chhudende

Māran mār suṭṭan phir vekhan moeā pher marende.

There are always people jealous of a lover who would not tolerate his having a glimpse of the beloved but would always try to keep them separate.

Oh Hasham these cruel people would not leave the lovers alone.

They will beat them, kill them, then pause, and again beat them.

Story of Sassi.

The plot is laid in Sindh Baluchistan. Sassi was the daughter of Ādam Jān, king of Bhambūr (Sindh), she was born according to the astrologers in an inauspicious hour and was consequently doomed to be floated down the river.

The child was carefully packed alive in a specially designed box and was quietly floated down the river. It was caught by a childless washerman some distance below, who on opening the box found the smiling face of a beautiful girl. He accepted thankfully the gift as if sent by God and brought up the child as his own.

Sassi grew up to be a very handsome woman, and she came to know of her origin from the washerman, who had preserved the chit which he had found in the box with the baby. Sassi refused proposals to marry a washerman's son. The news of her beauty reached the king, who, actuated by sensual desire sent his man to enquire about the girl. The girl sent him the paper with which he sent her down the stream. On opening which the king blushed and found out the girl was his own daughter. He then sent his officers to bring her back to the royal palace, her proper place. But Sassi indignantly refused the offer and wrote back "it is 'Harām' to meet you again when you once floated me down the river." The king however, assigned all income of customs and ferry of the town for her maintenance. A beautiful garden and a palace was built for Sassi on the river bank.

Sassi fell in love with Punnu—a prince of Kīcham (in Makran) after seeing his picture, and the innocent girl having never tasted

love before, was all ablaze with its fire.

Dil vich soz firāk Punnū dā roz alābā bāle

Birhō mūl arām nā dēdā, vāg chikhā nit jāle

Ātash āp āpe bhathiārā āp jāle nit jāle

Hāsham pher kehā sukh sowan jad pite prem piāle.

In her mind the burning desire to meet her love was daily bursting into high flames.

(Fire of) separation did not leave her any rest and consumed her like a pyre.

This desire in itself was a fire, and the burner, it burnt continuously and consumed others.

Hasham sayeth, how can one have a peaceful sleep when one has quaffed the cup of love.

Once a caravan of merchants of Kīcham crossed the river. Sassi having come to know of this, ordered their camels and merchandise to be forfeited, until some one went to Kīcham to fetch prince Punnū. The messengers went to Kīcham and informed Punnū all about Sassi's love for him. The poet describes the prince's condition after hearing the story :—

Suṇ tārīf hōēā dil birīā, vaggī vā pīram dī

Kaun koi dil vahe ṭikāne, daihshat teg alam dī

Shaihr Bhimbūr Punnū dil vasseā, visrī surt Kīcham dī

Hāsham vā laggi utḥ chamkī ātash jarm karam dī.

Having heard praises of Sassi's beauty

his heart was scorched, thus blew the wind of love.

Who can retain peace of mind at the sight of a drawn sword

Very few minds could keep equilibrium

on account of fear of sword of pain.

Punnū thought of Bhambur alone and

forgot his Kīcham.

Hasham sayeth, the smouldering fire of love,

ordained by destiny, was fanned into flames by the wind.

Punnū started for Bhambur with his retinue. They reached there and encamped in Sassi's beautiful garden where they let loose their camels to graze. Sassi came out in great rage to turn out the intruders, but seeing Punnū, the ideal of her heart, sleeping on her own couch in the garden, she fell into a trance of joy. The poet describes the meeting :—

Sassī ān dīṭhā vich nīndar Hot behosh jo khābō

Sūraj vāg shuā husan dā bāhar paus nakābō

Je lakh pā sādūk chhapaye āve mushak gulābō

Hāsham husan, prīt nā chhipde tārak hōn hijābō

Sassī saw the " Hot " fast asleep on the couch

Like rays of sun, the reflections of his blazing beauty was visible through the cover.

The smell of the rose, even if caged in a closed box, penetrates out through its walls.

Hasham sayeth, beauty and love cannot be concealed, they discard the veil.

Sun faryād balochā vālī tā sudh Hot sambhālī

Vekh hairān hocā shāzādā fāuj mahibubā vālī

Raushan shamā jamāl Sassī dā, chamak pawē har ḡālī

Hāsham dāg paco gul lāle, vekh Sassī lab lālī

Having heard noise of the Balochis, the Hot awoke,

But was astonished at seeing Sassī, the desired one.

The beauty of Sassī was like a candle flame lighting up all plants and branches.

Hasham sayeth, the red tulip got a scar in its heart, by looking at the redness of Sassī's lips.

Vekh didār hoc tan dovē āshak dard rijāne

Diṭṭheā bājh nā rajjan mūle nain udās iyāne

Sikdeā yār mile jis dil nū, kīmat kadar pachhāne

Hāsham ishak asl kamāwan, hor guār kī jāne.

Seeing each other the lovers' hearts became full of love.

The innocent eyes were never tired of seeing each other to their fill.

Only he can realise the situation, who meets his beloved after age-long separation.

Hasham sayeth, only the high born can play effectively the game of love, what can the rustic know of its beauties ?

After this Punnu and Sassī lived together joyfully in the palace. One night Sassī and Punnu having drunk wine to the full, fell into sound sleep and towards the small hours of the morning Punnu's men finding the opportunity, stole and carried away Punnu on a fast camel to Kīcham. Sassī rose in the morning and finding Punnu missing from her side, sobbed and cried like a child. The poet describes her condition thus :—

Toṛ sangār Sassī uth dōrī, khol litā ghar bāhrō

Chariā ān krōdh Sassī nū chand ehutiā par wārō,

Dōrī sāth Punnu dā takdī, teg hijar de vārō

Hāsham sēhu muhāl jisdāe, sakht burī talwārō

Sassī threw away her adornments to winds, and ran out of the palace with dishevelled tresses.

The wrathful Sassī in her wild flight, looked like the moon issuing from her halo.

She ran seeking company of Punnu, spurred by the sorrow of separation.

The sorrow, a blow of which none can stand, sayeth Hasham, which is sharper than the blade of steel.

In her desertion by her lover, her adopted mother found an opportunity to preach against falling in love with foreigners and persuade her again to accept a match from the clan of her adoption ; washermen.

Mother says :—

Māō ākhe phir Sassī nū, kar kujh hosh ṭikāṇe

Zārī karan muhāl badeso jāṇan bāl iyāṇe

“ Oh my dear Sassi, understand this and come back to thy senses.”

It is difficult to force foreigners to love, even little children know this.

Sassi replies :—

Māe je dīl khāhsh nā hosī, us mere dilbarde

Dilbar beparwāh hameshā, kujh parwāh nā dharde

Vekh patang chakor vichāre, muft shamā jal marde

Hāsham morā rahe nahī murde, gharde log shaihar de.

“ Oh mother, if my beloved has no desire for me (it is not strange, as) ”

The beloved is always careless and never cares for others.

Look at the moth and a ‘chakor,’ they die in vain for the candle and the Moon ?

Hasham sayeth they turn not away from the path of love even when their own people and those of the town stop them.

Marsā mūl nā mūrṣā rāhō, jān talī par dharsā

Jad tak jān rahe vich tande, marṇō mūlnā darsā

Je Rab kūk Sassī dī sunsi, jā pallā us pharsā

Hāsham nahī shahīdan hoke thal mārū vich marsā.

I will rather die than retrace my steps from the path of love, I have placed my life in the hollow of my hand.

So long there is a breath in this body, I will not be afraid of death.

If God responds to the hearing of Sassī, I will catch the end of my Punnū’s garment.

Oh Hasham, otherwise I will die like a martyr in the desert of Thal.

She went forth into the burning Thal in search of her beloved.

The Poet describes the hot Thal :—

Chamkī ān dupaihrā velle garmī garm bahāre

Tapdī lū vagī asmānō, panchhī mār utāre

Ātash dā dariyā khalotā, thal mārū vich mārē

Hāsham pher picchhāhā nā murdī, lū lū Hōt pukāre

The heat was at its height at noon on a summer day

So hot a wind was blowing, that it killed the birds flying in the sky.

A river of heat was waving in the desert of sand
 Hasham sayeth, still Sassi retraced not her steps and sound
 of Hōt ! Hōt ! ? was audible through every hair hole of her
 body.

Again :—

Nāzak pair malūk Sassī de, mālhdī nāl sangāre
 Bālū ret tape vich thal de, jyū jān bhunnan bhaṭheār
 Sūraj bhaj vareā vich badli dardā lishak nā māre
 Hāsham vekh yakīn Sassī dā, sidkō māl nā hāre.

The delicate and beautiful feet of Sassī were adorned with the
 henna paint.

The “ Bālū ” or sand was burning red in the Thal, as if it were
 prepared for parching the barley.

The sun hid himself behind a cloud, fearing the flash (of her feet)
 might not kill him.

Oh Hasham, see the faith of Sassi, she does not flinch a bit in her
 determination.

The poet has graphically described the plight of Sassi in
 the hot sands of Thal :—

Kujh baihdī kujh dīgdī dhaindī, uṭhdī, te dam laindī
 Jyū kar toṭ sharābā āve, pher ute val dhaindī
 Dhūnde khoj sbutar dā phirke, kitval bhāl nā paindī
 Hāsham, jagat nā kyūkar gāve, pit sampūran jaindī.

Half sitting, half falling, falling and then rising, and then brea-
 thing heavily.

Like a drunkard, who is unable to get another peg to support him,
 she again falls to the same spot.

She was wandering to find the track of the camel, but could not
 see it any where.

Hāsham sayeth, why should not the world sing praises of her,
 whose love was perfect.

At last Sassī in her vain attempts to overtake her lover,
 sacrifices her life at the altar of love. Her last bewailings
 were :—

Je jānā ehad jān Sassī nū, ik pal akkh nā jhamkā
 Zarā ho ke vich et thālā de, vāg jawahar ramkā
 Jal vāngō ral den vikhālī, thal marū diā chamkā
 Hāsham kaun Sassī bin vekhe, es ishak diā dhamkā

Had I known they would leave Sassī behind,

I would not have moved my eyelids (kept awake).

How having become a grain of sand I will shine like a gem.

The reflections from the “ Mirages ” in the desert look like water.

Hāsham sayeth, who but Sassī can bear such tortures of “ Love.”

She curses the camel and the camel-men :—

Jis dāchī merā Punnū khagēā, shālā dozakh jāve
Yā us nehō lage, vich birhō, vāg Sassī jal jāve
Hāsham maut pavē karvānā, tukham zamīnō jāve.

Oh Lord, send that she-camel (Dāchī) to hell who bore away my Punnū.

Or she may fall a prey to love and then die in pangs of separation, like myself.

Oh Hasham, let death overtake the camel-men and annihilate them.

But soon she repents of having spoken the curse :—

Phir muṛ samajh karē lakh taubā, maithō bauht beadbī hoī
Jis par yār karē aswāri tisde jeḍ nā koī.

Again she repents and says, I have sinned against my love.

As there is no one equal to the animal on which my lover rides.

Punnū on awakening found he had been kidnapped by his own men, he cried and cursed them, and at once retraced his steps towards Bhambūr but came back simply to find a mound of sand, marking the spot where Sassī was buried by the old herdsman the day previous. He heard the story of Sassī's last plight from the fakir guardian of the grave and fell on the grave and his soul went to embrace that of his beloved.

The story is as usual a tragedy. The lovers meet, separate, suffer and then die, each longing for the other. This is the end of most of the Panjab's love stories.

Hasham Shah is undoubtedly one of the greatest poets of the Panjab and I give him a very high rank amongst the poets of profane poetry, he is equal if not superior to Wāris Shāh. Waris, I have already said, surpasses him in brevity and effect. Going deeper into the study of the two great Panjab poets, we find that Waris's verse appeals to lower passions, while Hasham Shah touches the heart and imagination. Both are imbued with love, the one had had his sweetheart and was forcibly separated from her and he unfolds his own mind, his warmth and rage in the story of Hir and Ranjha, while the other does not apparently focuss his love on any material sweetheart. His soul is yearning after something *unseen*. There is intense burning inside. His poetic imagination brings before his mind the pictures of Hir and Ranjha, Sassī and Punnū, and the poet speaks through these historical and romantic characters, his feelings of true love and burning desire.

In the very first quatrain the poet exclaims in wonder :—

Kar kar soch rehā vich hairat, mainū dil dā bhet nā āve
Kadī tā takit bahe ban hākam, ate kadī kangāl kahāve
Kadī bakht bezār hove khud jismō, ate sabh kujh khāk milāwe
Dīgar kaun kahe mū Hāsham, jehrā roz dukān chalāve.

I have been thinking in astonishment, but I have not found the secret of his heart.

Sometimes he adorns a throne like a king and at another exalts in being called a poor man.

Sometimes he appears to be tired of his own body and throws away everything into dust.

Who else can explain this conundrum. Oh Hasham, but He who runs the whole show ?

Leaving aside this philosophical side of Hasham's poetry, the poet had the gift of introducing new poetical ideas, similies and lessons into his verses.

The following few examples will suffice to bring the paper to a close. How beautifully does the poet depict the condition of a lover, who has been reduced to a skeleton, through pains of separation and long waiting for the beloved.

Gai bahār khizā vī āi, jhab āō kadī ghaṭ pherā
Chirī vichhunneā de gal milke, par zor lagāō thorā
Karsīpīr kalejā dukhī, hōsī dard tere vich phorā
Hāsham hon piāre dushman, jehre ghattan dard vichhorā.

The spring has departed and autumn set in.

Come, Oh beloved ever pass this way.

Take care in embracing the long separated lover, and press not hard.

The heart will pain, it has become ulcerated on account of continuous pain of thy separation.

Hasham sayeth, those beloveds are enemies in disguise who cause painful separation to their lovers.

Agam the poet lectures on the mutability of the world :—

Diṭṭhī kabar Sikandar vālī, oh khāk pāi chup kītī
Akkhī mīṭ tāhī kujh disdā, tudh kaun sabī kar jītī
Hase Hot nā āhī Sassī, oh khāb āhī, ho bītī
Hāsham ākh sajan kis badle, bhalā bane bedard anītī.

I saw the grave of Alexander, it was a handful of dust lying in silence.

No doubt only then one can really see what his existence is, when one closes his eyes.

Hōt laughed, there was no Sassī, she was a dream, come and gone.

Hāsham asks therefore tell me oh my beloved, why dost thou become so cruel and unreasonable.

The poet in the following quatrain has flown to great heights of imagination and presented a new idea to lovers of poetry :—

Dilbar dekh raheā vich shīshe, ohnū sūrat nazar nā āve
Pānī de vich sabī nā hove, jad āinā akas milāwe

Dīpak kol chikhā de dhareā, chamak chamak mil jāve
 Hāsham āp hove lakh shīshā, olinū shīshā kaun dikhāve.

The sweetheart looked in vain in the looking glass for her image.
 (How could she see it because)

In water the reflection of a mirror cannot be detected.

If a candle burns near a pyre, its brightness is merged into that of
 the burning pyre.

Oh Hāsham, when she is herself brighter than millions of mirrors,
 who can show her a mirror.

An Autobiographical Memoir of Louis Bourquien.

(Translated from the French.)

J. P. THOMPSON.

I went to India with a taste for the profession of arms that I could not have satisfied in France, because I was not a member of the privileged class for which all military distinction was reserved. I was employed in several of the campaigns which were always going on between the petty princes, who are fighting over the last remains of the Mughal empire, and I finally attained the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Commandant of three brigades in the regular army of the Maratha Prince Daulat Rao Sindhia, a rank which I held until the destruction of the corps in which I served.

For these reasons I owe it to my reputation to prove that I had no share in the disgrace of a catastrophe, which was brought about by intrigue and treason alone. Further, I owe it to my country to acquaint her with such scraps of knowledge as I have been able to acquire in regard to a country, which is all the more interesting to her in that it is the richest booty ever gained by her natural enemy. I shall achieve both these objects by presenting the narrative of my humble services, and combining with it, that of the principal events which I have witnessed, or of which I have been able to obtain information in the places in which they occurred.

I shall write from memory. Consequently I can only give the dates approximately, but as regards the facts I shall be accurate, and shall take care to record only those which I remember clearly.

I arrived in Bengal in 1787. Two months later, I sailed up the Ganges as far as Cawnpore in search of employment under the Princes of the country. The English were at that time beginning to establish themselves at Farrukhabad. From Cawnpore I struck across country until I came to Dig, where I found the army of Madhoji Sindhia, the Maratha Prince who had conquered Hindustan and was ruling it with authority delegated by the Emperor. He was a

¹ I obtained this memoir early in 1914 from Joseph Baer and Co. of Frankfort-on-Main, but was unable to trace it back beyond them. The manuscript consisted originally of 28 leaves of which two are missing. It is written by an amannuensis and signed by Bourquien himself at the end.

I am indebted to Mr E. G. F. Abraham, C.B., I.C.S., for his assistance. The last third of the translation is mainly his and he has also revised the earlier portion.

fine old warrior, full of courage, who had won his spurs at the time of the invasion of Ahmad Shah and lost a leg in the great battle in which the Marathas were defeated at that time. I shall have occasion to speak of this Prince and his successor more than once in the course of my narrative, as well as of the wars waged by his troops and the importance of the country they occupy.

This prince reposed entire confidence in a Frenchman named Lostonneau. He was so fond of him that he had adopted him as his son, and had appointed him to a command consisting of three battalions. Lostonneau had three days previously taken into the service a Frenchman named Perron, whose name will often occur in the following pages, and he also engaged me. Before long we were on active service.

War was declared on the Raja of Jaipur, chief of a warlike tribe of Indians, called Rajputs. The army marched on his capital. An indecisive action was fought, but the Raja found the means to seduce the Prince's minister and through him a large portion of his troops. Some days later, the Prince made up his mind to fight, but thirty-two battalions went over to the enemy. After this act of treachery Madhoji Sindhia saw that the only course open to him was to fly. When he got back to his own country, he shut himself up in the fort of Gwalior. M. Lostonneau who had nothing but infantry, was unable to follow him. So, still loyal to his master, he retired on Agra. At this juncture I fell ill and returned to Bengal.

After the flight of Madhoji Sindhia, two Rohilla chiefs, Ismail Beg and Ghulam Qadir, took possession of Hindustan under the orders of the Emperor Shah Alam, who was always ready to issue orders at the bidding of the strongest.

It was at that moment that I again put in appearance on this unending scene of revolution, just as Ghulam Qadir had put out the eyes of this unfortunate plaything of his brutal ambition. The universal horror inspired by this act of savagery, the discontent of the Jats whom he had harried, and the pecuniary assistance which Madhoji Sindhia had obtained from his compatriot Vaman Rao—all these factors made it easy for Sindhia to return to Hindustan. He defeated Ghulam Qadir at Mirat and took him prisoner. He avenged the cruelty he had practised on the Emperor by cruelties even more barbarous. He shut him up in a cage, cut off his nose, his ears and his hands, and paraded him on a camel in this condition, prior to throwing his body into a drain. Ismail Beg took refuge with the

Ismail Beg and Ghulam Qadir take possession of Hindustan.

Defeat of Ghulam Qadir by Madhoji Sindhia, who puts him to death.

Raja of Jodhpur. Summoned thence by the wife of Hamadāni (*Amdany*) to help her in the defence of the fort of Kanaund (*Canoungé*), was there captured and taken to Agra where he died, not without suspicion of having been poisoned during the absence of Madhoji Sindhia.¹

M. Lostonneau during the lifetime of Ismail Beg and while he was besieging Agra, had been compelled to enter his service in spite of his attachment to Madhoji Sindhia. He had been unable to relieve the town with his small force and had no other means of saving his family which was shut up in Agra, than by accepting the terms of the conqueror, but dreading the wrath of Madhoji Sindhia on his return, he made over his force to M. Perron and betook himself to Bengal.

At this juncture Madhoji Sindhia, worn out by the defeats he had experienced, and desiring—partly in order to maintain his superiority, partly in order to make sure of revenge—to have a body of troops organised in the European fashion, whose discipline would ensure their loyalty to him, requested the English Government to give him a brigade. All he could get however, through the instrumentality of Major Palmer, the British Resident, was an officer qualified to organize some of his troops as a regular brigade and this officer was M. De Boigne.

It is to M. De Boigne that Hindustan owed the formation of the native regular troops, organised on the European model. The advantages of this method of training were established by the unfailing success the troops achieved, which led Madhoji Sindhia to welcome Europeans and entrust to them the command of his troops. This Prince died in 1794 and left his throne to his nephew Daulat Rao Sindhia, a youth of sixteen.

The brigade of M. De Boigne was soon organised. It was composed of the force formerly commanded by M. Lostonneau, which had now passed to M. Perron, another force commanded by a Dutchman named John Hessing, and two battalions commanded respectively by M. Layenté, a Frenchman, and by Miguel Filose, a Portuguese. It included also picked men from among the Prince's other troops.

This brigade would have been first employed against the Raja of Jaipur, if he had not avoided the danger which threatened him by coming to terms. But the fact that the Rahtors of Jodhpur,

¹ Muhammad Beg Hamadani was Ismail Beg's uncle. According to Skinner it was Najaf Khan's widow who defended Kanaund (*Memoirs I*, 68).

another warlike Indian tribe, had given protection to Ismail Beg brought about a rupture between them and the Prince, and this soon gave M. De Boigne the chance of distinguishing himself. The army advanced on Jodhpur and the brigade's share in the victory gained over the enemy at Merta, established at once the reputation of M. De Boigne.

War broke out again soon afterwards between Madhoji Sindhia and Tukaji Holkar, another Maratha

War is declared between Madhoji Sindhia and Tukaji Holkar, a Maratha Prince. M. Dudrenec enters service.

Prince. A Frenchman named Dudrenec had a few months earlier raised a brigade in Holkar's service. The two brigades met at the pass of Lakheri, and after

four hours' fighting, Dudrenec's brigade was completely defeated. In spite of this, he managed to retain his master's favour. The Prince adopted him as his son and caused him be paid six months' arrears of pay due to his brigade, although he had not brought back more than fifty of his men with him.

After that, M. De Boigne having given in his accounts and obtained permission to depart, returned

Departure of M. De Boigne.

to Europe, and left to M. Perron, who had

been promoted major, the command of the first Brigade, which was on duty at Poona with the Prince Daulat Rao Sindhia, who had just succeeded his uncle Madhoji Sindhia. Hindustan was guarded by a second brigade which M. De Boigne had raised and which, after the death of the Englishman, Major Gardner, its first commandant, had been placed under the orders of another Englishman, Capt. Sutherland.

I must mention here an instance of injustice and avarice on the part of Capt. Sutherland. Gopal

Story of Capt. Sutherland.

Bhao, the minister of the Prince in Hin-

dustan, had been removed owing to the intrigues of Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada who were appointed to succeed him. Gopal Bhao had

given himself up to M. De Boigne on condition that he should not be made over to anyone but the Prince himself, and M. De Boigne on his departure had left him under the protection of Captain Sutherland and his brigade. Shortly after, Sutherland was won over by presents and surrendered Gopal Bhao to Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada, his bitterest enemies. Gopal Bhao and his wife were robbed of everything, even their clothes, and shut up in the fort of Bhilsa (*Belsa*).

Sutherland was won over by presents and surrendered Gopal Bhao to Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada, his bitterest enemies. Gopal Bhao and his wife were robbed of everything, even their clothes, and shut up in the fort of Bhilsa (*Belsa*).

I took no part in all these happenings. On my return to Hindustan, I had entered the force of the

Story of the Begam Sombre.

Begam Sombre, and I remained in it for six years. The Begam was an Indian

woman, widow of the German Sombre, whose slave she had been before she became his wife. Sombre had a corps of three battalions for the upkeep of which he had been given the districts of Sardhana, Baraut (*Barad*), Budhana, (*Bourana*), Jewar (*Jconard*), Tappal (*Tapcl*), Batchepour (?) and Barnawa (*Bernaba*) which between them produced a revenue of 11 lakhs of rupees (3,300,000 *livres*). At his death his widow succeeded him. So long as I was in the force, it was only employed in the Subah of Saharanpur (*Sarampour*) under the orders of Maratha chiefs, who were detached from the grand army for the collection of the revenues of this country. The Begam had at first entrusted the command of her troops to an officer who had been born in the country of Liége, and who was called Liégeois. Later on however she recognized the superior ability of an English-

Promotion of George Thomas.

man named George Thomas, who had for two years administered for her the districts of Jewar and Tappal. She accordingly made over to him the government of all her possessions and appointed him commandant of her troops. For three years we remained under his command. Then, after a fruitless attempt to make himself independent of his benefactress, he had to take to flight and withdrew to Anupshahr. From there he entered the service of Vaman Rao. He was succeeded by M. Le Vassou, who six months later married the Begam. This marriage was very unpopular with the old officers of the corps, and M. Le Vassou's haughty behaviour, in spite of his sterling worth, contributed in no small degree to increase the discontent. Sombre's son by another wife, had seen, with deep resentment, his father's old slave succeed to his estate. He took advantage of the state of feeling which existed, and raised a revolt among the troops, in concert with the old commandant Liégeois. I was put into prison along with four other officers, who like me, had remained true to their salt. The insurgents marched from Batchepour on Sardhana, where the Begam lived, with the object of seizing her and her husband. Warned of the danger they were running, by letters which we found means to get through to them from our prison, they determined to seek refuge at Tappal. They set out with an escort of four companies of troops, who swore to protect them to the utmost of their power. When they left Sardhana, they vowed to each other to kill themselves if they were intercepted in their attempt to escape.

They had not gone three leagues, when two emissaries of the insurgents reached them with a proclamation, calling on their troops to give them up under penalty of being treated with the utmost severity. Alarmed at this threat, their escort at once took steps to arrest them. At the first movement of the troops the Begam made a pretence of stabbing herself in her palanquin. One of her women ran to tell M. Le Vassou that she had just

put an end to her existence, and reminded him of the promise he had made her not to survive their disgrace. The unfortunate officer immediately blew his brains out with his pistol, and fell dead from his horse. After this tragedy the Begam returned to Sardhana with her four companies, and two days later, the mutineers arrived. On their approach, the Begam, in order to pacify them, had sent them two months' pay. The expedient was of no avail. The young Sombre had her seized and thrown into a narrow dungeon. Since then, she has been restored by the intervention of the Maratha power, and poison has rid her of the young Sombre and of Liégeois. As for myself, I was moved from Batchepour to Sardhana with my four companions in misfortune, and there they kept us under guard in our houses. In the end I was set free and went to Parichatgarh (*Paris et Ghor*) to a Raja to whom I had given protection some time before. He showed himself grateful and accompanied me himself as far as Koil with an escort of 500 horse.

I reached Koil fifteen days after the departure of M. De Boigne for Lucknow. I applied to M. Pedron who was in charge of two districts of Hindustan the revenues of which were set apart for the upkeep of two brigades of M. De Boigne's. This officer gave me employment and I was ordered to take four battalions, 500 cavalry, and 1,000 Rohillas, to restore order in the Mewat, a hilly tract which had risen in revolt after the departure of M. De Boigne. I spent four months in carrying out this mission, and was afterwards sent for to drive back a body of Sikhs who had invaded Hindustan. I drove them out and followed them into their own country. As a reward for these services I was promoted Ensign in the second brigade, which was then employed in the province of Datia in taking possession of all the forts belonging to the petty Rajas of the country, in order to make them over to Ambaji, Raja of Gwalior, chief vassal and friend of Sindhia.

However, Major Perron took advantage of the opportunities he had at Poona of daily access to the sixteen-year-old Prince, and succeeded in winning his favour. He was rapidly promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and Colonel *en pié*,¹ and ended by convincing Sindhia that he was the one person who could safely be trusted to maintain his power in Hindustan. The young Prince was all the more disposed to accept this idea as he had in fact by his imprudence alienated the feelings of his principal subjects. M. Perron was sent to Hindustan with the title of Commandant of the Provinces and General of the

¹ I have been unable to discover the meaning of this. Mr. Abraham suggests that it may mean 'acting' Colonel.

brigades. When he left (Poona) for his new command, he put the first brigade under M. Dugeon, a French officer, for whom he obtained the rank of Major.

I was then detached with two battalions to assist the Maratha Chief Golaf Rao Kadom (*sic*) in the collection of the revenue for which he was responsible. Bhao Bakhshi (*Bao Bori*), the Prince's minister at Poona, had just been put in irons on suspicion of having attempted his life. Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada, who were creatures of Bhao Bakhshi, were also arrested in Hindustan and put in prison. But Lakwa Dada succeeded in seducing the Maratha soldiers who guarded him and escaped with Jagu Babu. Their escape compelled the second brigade to move on

Muttra where they apprehended action on their part. I was myself at this place. Capt. Sutherland, who had on his conscience his treatment of Gopal Bhao, and several other treacheries of the same kind, was afraid that the command of this brigade would be taken away from him as soon as General Perron arrived, and that as I was the only one of the French officers of the brigade who had made any name, he might think of putting me in to succeed him. So he decided to get rid of me. He sent for me and after having expressed his regret at not having been able so far to give me promotion in his brigade, he offered me a post as captain in a separate brigade, on a salary of Rs. 450 a month (about 1,350 *livres*.) This brigade was commanded

Sutherland appoints me
Captain in John Hessing's
brigade.

by his father-in-law John Hessing, and was then at Poona under the orders of George Hessing, son of John. I divined the intentions of Capt. Sutherland, but as I had no reason to refuse his offer, I accepted it, and reported myself in due course at Agra to John Hessing, who sent me off to Poona two days later with 700 recruits. When I was leaving, as Gen. Perron was close at hand, I asked permission to go and see him, but it was refused. I wrote to him. My letter was intercepted. I wrote him a second letter from Ujjain which at last reached him. I received the answer at Poona just when I was occupied in carrying out some orders which were most repugnant to me. Nana

Affair of Nana Farnavis
minister of the Peshwa.

Farnavis, Minister of the Peshwa, had a quarrel with Sindhia. He was invited by him to a conference, but declined to attend. Miguel Filose, the Portuguese, however, who had raised two brigades in the service of Sindhia, promised him his personal safety on oath, and Nana Farnavis at last agreed to appear before the Prince. The brigades of Filose were under arms under pretext of protecting him. Immediately he entered the house they arrested

him. During this time, I was holding in check with my two battalions, 3,000 Arabs whom Nana Farnavis kept with him as a guard. I speedily compelled this corps to evacuate the house and to disperse. My mission fulfilled, I showed to George Hessing the letter from General Perron, in which he enjoined me to report myself to him, and I left for Hindustan, after having spent only fifteen days at Poona.

I learned *en route* that all was in confusion at the court of Daulat Rao Sindhia who had tried to get hold of one of the widows of Madhoji Sindhia. This was an outrage on the

Story of the wives of
Madhoji Sindhia.

customary morality of the country, where people attached a kind of veneration to these women, and regarded them with the greatest respect. The widows had complained in a body to the old chieftains of the affront which they alleged they had received. Some of the troops espoused their quarrel and raised the standard of revolt. Miguel Filose was making preparations to join this party with his forces, but his intention leaked out before it could be put into execution. He retired hurriedly to Bombay and left his two brigades under the command of his son, whom the Prince did not venture to remove, as he was compelled to hide his feelings for fear of making things worse.

War having been openly declared between Daulat Rao Sindhia and the wives of his uncle and predecessor,

War declared between the
party of Daulat Rao Sindhia
and that of his uncle's
widows.

seven or eight actions were fought in the neighbourhood of Poona without any decisive result. At last the princesses fearing that they would be deserted, resolved

to fly for refuge to Hindustan, where they hoped to find support from Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. They counted also on the protection of Jaswant Rao Holkar, and in consequence directed their march towards Ujjain where he then was. Sindhia on his side wrote to Jaswant Rao, and promised to forget their quarrels and to espouse his cause against Kashi Rao Holkar, if he would agree to get hold of the princesses and hand them over to him.

I must here say a word about Jaswant Rao Holkar. This prince is a natural son of Tukaji Holkar,

Story of Jaswant Rao Holkar,
the natural son and the
two legitimate sons of Tukaji
Holkar.

who was king of a country on the Narbada river called Indore Choli-Maheshwar.¹ Tukaji Holkar at his death left two legitimate sons, Kashi Rao and Malhar

Rao, who disputed the succession. Kashi Rao, the elder, betook

¹ Maheshwar on the Narbada is the old capital of the Indore State. "It is usually called Choli-Maheshwar from the town of Choli, 7 miles north of it" (Gazetteer of Indore State, p. 300).

himself to Poona to push his claims there, and won over Sindhia, who promptly decided the dispute by attacking Malhar Rao unexpectedly and putting him to death with his wife. Jaswant Rao Holkar had declared for Malhar Rao. He fell into the hands of the victor and was sent a prisoner to the Raja of Berar at Nagpur. M. Dudrence governed the country for two years in the name of Kashi Rao. At the end of this period, Jaswant Rao Holkar succeeded in escaping from prison, and betook himself to the neighbourhood of Indore where he soon collected a body of troops, and showed that he intended to take possession of the country. M. Dudrence underrated his strength and contented himself with sending against him two battalions commanded by MM. Martin and Lepinet. These two battalions were surprised in a pass and cut to pieces. Their defeat added to the number of Jaswant Rao's supporters and compelled M. Dudrence to take refuge with the Raja of Kotah. He rallied his forces, fell on Jaswant Rao and in turn completely defeated him, but he did not know how to make full use of his victory, and gave his enemy time to recover his position, and even to seduce his own followers, so that he found himself compelled to submit to Jaswant Rao and some time afterwards to leave the country and to leave behind him as a hostage his son-in-law, M. Plumet. The Prince, satisfied that he was incapable of betraying him, gave him his full confidence and allowed him to raise a brigade. From this time the power of Jaswant Rao Holkar increased every day and roused the jealousy of Daulat Rao Sindhia who supported more strongly than ever the cause of Kashi Rao.

This was the situation when Sindhia proposed to Jaswant Rao that he should make over to him the princesses. The latter sent him an accommodating reply, but at the same time encouraged the princesses to continue their march, and promised them every kind of assistance. On their arrival at Ujjain, he took possession of their jewels and their baggage, valued at three crores of rupees (90,000,000 *livres*) and left them to their own devices. Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada who were hurrying to effect a junction between their forces and those of the princesses finding them stripped of everything, escorted them to the Raja of Datia. Then as they were in open revolt against Sindhia, they set themselves to ravage the country with 10,000 men.

This was the state of affairs when I reached Koil, where I found General Perron already invested with the chief command in Hindustan. Ambaji who was a personage to be conciliated on account of his wealth and his power, had been associated with him in his command. This Maratha lord had amassed a fortune of three

Perron Commander-in-
Chief of all Hindustan. Am-
baji associated with him in
his powers.

crores of rupees (about 90,000,000 *livres*). In addition to territory yielding him a crore per annum, he held several important fortresses from Gwalior to the Deccan.

The first appointment General Perron gave me was that of lieutenant on a salary of Rs. 250 per mensem (750 *livres*). The following day, he sent me off with two battalions to the Mewat, which was again getting restive. Four months later, I was summoned to Muttra

where Perron was with Ambaji. They had conceived the design of seizing the fort of Delhi from the hands of the partisans of Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada, who were then masters of it. A new brigade commanded by Major Pedron was detailed for this expedition, and I was ordered to join it. The place capitulated after a siege of seventeen days, and I was commandant of the fort for a month. As commandant, I was the guardian of the old Emperor Shah Alam, who had been restored by Madhoji Sindhia. My most important duty was the supervision of a prison which was called the Salatin, in

Capture of Delhi, residence of the Emperor Shah Alam.

which about 500 sons or descendants of Emperors were confined with their wives. The custom of the country allows the Emperors nine legitimate wives. They can also take as many concubines as they please. This concubinage which has different forms, all subject to rules, is styled *nikah* and there may be three or four hundred of such concubines. The eldest son by one of the legitimate wives is the rightful heir. The family of the reigning Emperor are allowed their liberty, but at his death, the eldest son mounts the throne, and all the others enter the Salatin prison, never to emerge again. In addition to the confinement to which they are condemned by the customs of Asia, all these Princes have to put up with the precautionary measures which are rendered necessary by the circumstances and the condition of affairs in Hindustan. According to my instructions, I had men told off for duty with each of them, who took note of everything that happened in their family, and reported it to me every morning. Even the Emperor himself could write to no one without his letter passing through my hands, and if I found in it anything of interest to the Maratha Government, I sent it on to General Perron. Besides the guard placed at the gates of the fort, who searched everyone who went in or out, there were eunuchs whose duty it was to examine the covered conveyances of the women, in order to prevent any communication with the enemy. The Emperor, who is blind, never left his palace except to go to the mosque within the walls, or some place of worship close to the city. On these occasions, he and the princes of his suite were always accompanied by detachments of infantry and cavalry whom I com-

manded myself, watching with the greatest care to prevent anyone making his escape.

I was at last relieved of this command and sent a third time to the Mewat, which had risen again as soon as I left it. At the end of two months I received orders to rejoin General Perron and Ambaji at Muttra. Eight days after my arrival, the General ordered me to ride at once without escort to a place about eight leagues from Agra, and to place myself at the head of four battalions which I should find there and march on Agra. I carried out my mission to the letter. The General joined me during the night with some cavalry two leagues from Agra. His intention was to surprise the place, which was held by Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. We succeeded in our object. When we arrived, everyone in the town was still asleep. We fixed our ladders and scaled the walls. The guards inside were roused and tried to oppose us but we put some to the sword and made the rest prisoners. We still had to make ourselves masters of the fort. Some Maratha grandees of high rank had hastily shut themselves up in a house in the town. At eight in the morning, eight hundred of the garrison of the fort made a sortie to rescue them. This unexpected attack threw us into confusion. Our men retired in disorder on two guns which I had posted at the end of a street opposite the gate of the fort. In this way they screened the enemy who were coming up rapidly behind them. All would have been lost if the guns had been captured. In the disorder in which we were, not one of us would have escaped. I was forced to fire on our own men with grape-shot. A number of them were killed or wounded, but the enemy were driven back into the fort. We then sat down to a regular siege of the fort, which surrendered after two months of open trench work. As I had been throughout in charge of the siege-works, General Perron rewarded me by making me captain *en pié*. Immediately afterwards, he sent me off against Jhajjar, a town belonging to the principality which George

Expedition against Jhajjar.
Capture of this place.

Thomas, as I shall shortly relate, had created for himself. The Chief of Jhajjar had carried off a hundred wagons of sugar by force. In vain I demanded their return. I was obliged to attack the place. After a siege of fifteen days I carried the town by assault, although it was defended by a garrison of 3,000 men, who might have made a most vigorous resistance, if they had had a commander who knew his work. After this success I rejoined General Perron and Ambaji and we with the troops followed hard on the heels of Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. We pursued them for (*blank in MS.*) without coming up with them. In the end General Perron and Ambaji advised Scindia to release

Bhao Bakhshi from prison and reinstate him as well as Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada, in order that he might be able subsequently to get all three into his power more easily. This plan was adopted. Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada were invited to a conference. They put in an appearance but they took every precaution to protect themselves and showed the most obvious indications of distrust. An arrangement was however arrived at. Ambaji waived his claim to his share in the Hindustan command. This command was divided between General Perron, Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. The two latter governed the country from the Narbada up to Saharanpur¹ (*Sarampour*) and the remainder was under the orders of General Perron. His part comprised thirty-three districts which were specially assigned for the up-keep of the brigades. Koil was the capital of this portion. General Perron retired thither. Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada marched off towards Jajgarh² (*Jagegor*?) with the second brigade to which I was attached. This brigade was no longer commanded by Capt. Sutherland. He had been replaced by Major Polmans an Englishman.

Siege and capture of Jajgarh.	Jajgarh belonged to the Rahtors of Jodhpur (<i>Jadepour</i>) the war against whom had not been brought to a conclusion. It was a fort built on a hill. We laid siege to it and I was in
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charge of the engineering operations. After twenty-eight days Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada consulted me about attacking the place. I did all I could to dissuade them, as I knew that the besieged were almost at the end of their provisions. I urged that it was worse than useless to risk the lives of many brave men to get possession of a place which was bound to surrender before long of its own accord. But what I wanted to avoid was precisely what they wanted to secure. The reconciliation was as hollow on the one side as on the other. They wanted nothing better than the opportunity of sacrificing lives, provided only they could choose the victims. Major Polman agreed with them and the assault was decided on. The execution of it was entrusted to the brigade and to that portion of the rest of the army which was most devoted to the Prince. We were repulsed with a loss to the brigade of 800 killed and wounded, and to the other troops of 2,000. Two days later, 5,000 Rajputs who formed the garrison of the fort, driven to desperation by hunger and drunk with opium, threatened to come down from the fort, and make their way through the trenches, putting to the sword all who tried to stop them. Seven or eight hundred did actually sally out, and allowed themselves to be cut to pieces to a man at the foot of the hill, rather than lay down their

¹ The context makes it a little difficult to be sure of this identification.

² Jajgarh (or Jahazgarh) was apparently the fort of Jahazpur in Mewar, about 20 miles due east of Shahpura. Skinner (I, 132) spells the name Jhajghur.

arms. Meanwhile the brigade was securing possession of the other side of the hill. We effected an entrance into the fort by a bastion which we had blown up. After an hour's carnage, all that were left of the garrison were brought into the camp and promptly set at liberty, the custom in Hindustan being to keep as prisoners only persons of mark who can indemnify the victor for the cost of the war by paying a ransom. The ordinary soldiers are permitted to depart with their arms and their baggage, but it frequently happens that they enter the service of the conqueror when they are well-treated by him. His army thus grows with every victory. It was by this means and by the care he took to pay his troops punctually every month that General Perron succeeded in raising his forces to 20,000 regular cavalry and seven brigades, each of 8,000 men, counting that of George Hessing, whose aunt he had married.

After the capture of Jajgarh, Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada whose sole object was to stir up enemies against Scindia, brought about a rupture with the Raja of Jaipur. This Raja had

Battle with the Raja of
Jaipur.

at the time an army of 50,000 men ready for action. He fell on us and chased us for twenty leagues. We finally halted to give him battle. Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada had called to their aid M. Dudrence who when he left Holkar's service had bought from Lakwa Dada the fort of Rampura and established himself there with his brigade. The Raja of Kotah too had supplied us with two battalions. With these reinforcements we had about 40,000 men, horse and foot. A council of war was held. I was invited to attend. The plan of battle which I proposed was adopted, and I was entrusted with the duty of carrying it out. I was not a little embarrassed as I had never before been in command in an action of such importance, but enthusiasm supplied the want of experience. On my left I posted the brigade of M. Dudrence, two battalions of the Raja of Kotah and two others which belonged to Lakwa Dada. On their flanks, I posted the cavalry of Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. I took up my position on the right with our brigade, two battalions of which I left in rear as a second line. I rested my flank on the cavalry I could best trust. Next day before daylight, we marched in this order on the army of Jaipur which was drawn up in battle-array four miles from where we were. We were within range of the enemy before he realized that we were approaching. The noise of his daybreak drums¹, prevented him from hearing the noise we made as we marched. Our brigade opened the attack with its guns following it up with musketry fire. The enemy stood his ground and replied. This went on for an hour. He then charged our left wing and completely put it to flight. The cavalry which received the charge were broken up, and

¹ The reference is to the morning *naubat*.

M. Dudrenec's artillery was captured and carried off. Meanwhile our brigade on the right was advancing. After two hours' fighting, it overthrew the infantry of the Raja and took possession of all his artillery. But it had still to stand a charge from a considerable force of cavalry. The two battalions on the right received the charge without budging, with bayonets fixed, and soon forced the cavalry to retire at full speed, leaving behind them many killed and wounded. As soon as the attack began, the Raja himself had fled with a small number of horsemen who were well used to this manœuvre. I could not pursue him because I had no cavalry left. Those on the right had taken fright at the disaster which had befallen our left and, like it, had scattered. I stayed three hours in the same position without daring to quit it for fear the enemy might fall on us again. At last, encouraged by the news of the success of our brigade, our people rallied from all sides and proudly returned to take possession of the Rajput camp. I took advantage of the lucky turn affairs had taken to propose to Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada that they should pursue the Raja but constant to their system of neutralizing the success of Sindhia's arms, they replied that the Raja was a saint (his name Partab Sing has as a matter of fact this meaning) and that when a person of that character wishes to fly, their religion forbids them to pursue him. All we got out of the victory was the honour of sleeping on the field of battle. The Raja's artillery re-equipped M. Durenec. So far as artillery was concerned, there had merely been an exchange between the two armies.

Some days after, Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada were warned that

Bhao Bakhshi had been arrested again at Poona. They promptly took to flight with all their followers. Several Maratha Chiefs who were faithful to their Prince

Second flight of Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. Perron in sole command in India.

remained with their troops and with the second brigade to await the arrival of General Perron who had just become Commander-in-Chief of the army. On his arrival, a treaty was concluded with the Raja of Jaipur. The army was divided into two corps. Ambaji had appeared on the scene and 25,000 of the best Maratha troops came under his command with two battalions of the second brigade. I was attached to these two battalions and was ordered to urge Ambaji actively to pursue Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada. General Perron led the main body towards Saharanpur (*Sarampour*) and near Delhi defeated a force of 40,000 men which Mian Imam Bakhish (*Myen Imam Bocace*) one of the principal confederates of Jagu Babu and Lakwa Dada, had collected with the help of the Sikhs.

At this period, Perron had the most splendid opportunity a man ever had of handing down his name to posterity by rendering his country the

Views on Egypt.

most signal service, at the time when the sublime project of restoring Egypt and the neighbouring countries to civilization was in process of execution. These famous countries beheld the flower of the French army commanded by the first of its Generals. The fame of this great adventure soon reached India, where the English went so far as to intercept the correspondence between Bonaparte, the Commander-in-Chief, and Tippu Sahib. Several Frenchmen discussed this expedition with Perron and the feasibility of giving it some support. One of them, a man named Fortier, full of ability and inspired with a noble enthusiasm, made an offer to Perron to convey his proposals to General Bonaparte. All he asked for was an escort of four companies. It is almost certain that at the name of Perron the way through Persia would have been opened to him. Persia, with a small part of the territory of the Afghans, was the only country which he would have had to cross to reach Syria, as the country of the Sikhs, which extends almost to the frontiers of Persia, was tributary to Perron.

The Sikhs, whose country is extremely fertile and rich, would have provided men, and all that was necessary to enable him to cross Persia, and General Bonaparte, following the footsteps of Alexander would have entered India not as a devastating conqueror like the Persian hero, but as a liberator. He would have expelled the English for ever from India so that not one of them would have remained and by depriving them of the inexhaustible wealth of this vast country would have restored independence, peace and happiness to Asia, to Europe, to the whole world.

These projects were no idle dreams. Perron could collect in twenty days more than 300,000 men. All the princes in India were longing for French intervention. That formidable enemy of the English, Tippu Sahib, was still alive. Persia, the only country which Perron had to cross, was divided into several factions which would have hastened to seek his alliance or rather his protection. Sindhia in whose service Perron was, would have been in any case favourable to the French. For the plan to succeed, in fine, all that was wanted was the will on Perron's part and that was lacking. By overruling all proposals on this subject, he allowed the unfortunate Tippu Sahib to perish. But this noble prince left a glorious name, while infamy is the eternal lot of Perron.

To resume the course of events, while

(Four pages are missing here.)

. of powder and bullets which the peasants of the principality who are thieves by profession, had taken away during the night. At two in the afternoon, I moved my troops in order to split the forces of the enemy in two. I marched a thousand horse and two battalions to the left of the hillock and myself attacked

the right with six battalions. The action lasted until six in the evening. We were then within pistol shot of the hillock. But only five of our thirty guns were any longer fit to fire and two-thirds of our men were out of action. George Thomas had suffered just as severely. Neither of us could strike another blow and we both entrenched ourselves where we stood. We remained in these positions for a month and a half, watching each other. We kept up our artillery fire the whole time but without doing much damage on either side. At last a reinforcement which General Perron sent me, enabled me to surround the hillock completely. Pressed on all sides, George Thomas, escaped with his cavalry to the fort of Hansi (*Ancir*), leaving in our hands his artillery, his infantry and a considerable amount of baggage. His bullocks especially were of great assistance to us. They more than made up for the loss of our own as they were stronger and more accustomed to hard work. After re-equipping my brigade with all that it required, I despatched the rest of the booty to Koil and marched on Hansi. On my arrival, I found all the wells filled in. Two tanks were the only water-supply there was, and George Thomas had caused a number of carcasses of different animals to be thrown into them. Necessity overcame disgust. My soldiers, Hindus and Muhammadans alike, drank of this foul water for eight days, that is to say until they had succeeded in clearing out the wells. I then besieged Hansi and took it by assault. Captain Bernier was killed by a musket shot. He was the last of the eleven European officers I had in my brigade, the ten others having perished in the fighting at Georgegarh. George Thomas who had shut himself up in the fort, capitulated after twenty-two days¹ and was escorted into British territory, with his fortune which amounted

Death of George Thomas. perhaps to 1,50,000 rupees (about 450,000 *livres*). He afterwards arrived in Bengal, where he married an English woman and died three months later.

I found among the papers of this extraordinary man correspondence with the principal officials of the English Government. They encouraged him by praise and by the offer of support to pursue his enterprises and he on his side promised to make over to them at an early date the whole of Hindustan. This was not altogether beyond the bounds of possibility, as Thomas had many partisans among the Princes, who would have been all the more ready to declare in his favour as his talents, his boldness and his loyalty roused their admiration, while they groaned under the despotism of Perron.

The Sikhs who had been rescued from George Thomas had to

¹ I have this capitulation in my possession. [Author's note.]

pay the 900,000 *lirres* they had promised. At the request of their Chiefs, I marched into their country to collect their revenues (for such is the custom of the country that revenues are collected at the point of the bayonet). They amounted to seven lakhs of rupees (2,100,000 *lirres*). They paid me what was due to General Perron, and this sum I faithfully remitted to him. They then divided among themselves the surplus, which was for the upkeep and pay of their troops. On this expedition, I reached the banks of the Sutlej, facing the provinces of Lahore and Kashmir. It was on this occasion that four neighbouring Princes came to me to solicit the alliance and the protection of Perron, whose name had penetrated into the most remote countries in Asia. All of them invited me to enter their States, some to reconquer their possessions, others to help them in new conquests, others again to collect their dues which were in arrears. Among the latter was Tara Sing,¹ a Sikh Prince of ninety years of age. His country, the capital of which is Rakon (*Raon*), extends on both sides of the river as far as the Indus, and provides him with more than 60,000 horse, in addition to immense wealth. He proposed to me to employ my brigade in collecting his dues in his territory, and he offered me for this purpose alone 40 lakhs of rupees (1,200,000 *lirres*.)

I saw open before me the most magnificent career of glory and military fame. On one side, I could stretch my hand to Tibet, on the other, the Princes of Lahore and Kashmir invited me to enter their States and to join forces with them. Thus might I enter the empire of the Afghans and reach China by way of Tibet. The glory of Sindhia's arms, that of Perron, the immense advantages which would result from the offers which were made to me, the facilities for carrying out great schemes—all made me hope that I might be enabled at one and the same time to make my own name glorious as well as that of my General and of the Prince whom I served. Already I transported myself in imagination to the highest peak of the Caucasus, and descried the fertile plains watered by the Nile, where lately waved the banners of the French and I heard the echoes of those famous mountains repeat the name of Bonaparte. Vain hopes . . . vain schemes. . . .

Just as I was despatching to Perron the proposals which had been made to me, I received orders from him to return to Hindustan.

¹ For an account of Tara Singh, Ghaiba, the founder of the Dalawala confederacy, see *Gazetteer of the Jullundur District* (1904) pp 35ff. The Dehawala possessions "included almost the whole of the three southern tahsils of Jullundur, parts of Hoshiarpur, Ferozepore, Ludhiana and Ambala, and reached as far south as Thanesar and Ladwa." The Dalawalas were "one of the most powerful of the *mists* and according to one account, could put between 7,000 and 8,000 horsemen into the field." There is a vast difference between this and Bourquien's estimate.

The reason given was that one of the brigades of George Hessing had been defeated by Jaswant Rao on the banks of the Narbada. The real motive I leave to my readers to divine. . . . Why was he not in such a hurry when a much more real danger threatened him? Why, when an English army marched against him, did he not take the same precautions against it that he then took against a handful of natives? Why . . . but let us not anticipate events.

In spite of all the advantageous offers that had been made to me I obeyed orders, and marched back my brigade into the *subah* of Hissar (*Essar*), where I was obliged to leave it owing to the rains. I then proceeded myself to Koil with some cavalry in order to make a report about my campaign to General Perron. When the fine weather returned, as my services were not required elsewhere, I rejoined my brigade and busied myself with restoring order throughout the *subah* which is situated on the borders of a vast sandy desert and which had been abandoned for a long time. The local inhabitants who were accustomed to live by plunder, carried off every day our camels from the grazing grounds, and our property even from within our camp. Three of these brigands were caught in the act and I had them blown from a gun. This example had such an effect that there were no more complaints of theft.

The Raja of Bikaner had seized the district of Bhadra which belonged to the *subah* and adjoined his territories, and I compelled him to give it up.

I next concluded a treaty with the Nawab Khan Bahadur,¹ Chief of the canton of the Catis, situated between the country of the Sikhs and that of the Raja of Bikaner. He was the possessor of three fortresses constructed in ancient times by the Emperor Firoz Shah, namely, Fatehabad, Sirsa and Bhatner. The last is the most important of the three, but it has the disadvantage of being situated more than 12 leagues from the nearest water-supply. By its position, however, it commands the whole of his country as well as the neighbouring territory on the right and on the left. Khan Bahadur owing to his extreme poverty was not in a position to keep up these fortresses. He made them over to me on condition that I should guarantee him an income suitable to his rank, and he gave me his son as a hostage to prove his entire devotion to me. I could not fulfil my engagements with him without establishing a regular government in the country. The Nawab himself is a Musalman but his subjects are or pretend to be Rajputs. What

¹ Son of Muhammad Amin Khan the Bhatti Chief of Rania in the Hissar district. After his father's death he and his brother divided the inheritance, Khan Bahadur Khan taking Fatehabad and his brother, Sirsa and Rania. 'Catis' is a mistake for 'Bhattis.' See *Gazetteer of the Hissar district* (1915) p. 29.

is certain is that they do not observe any of the precepts of Brahma (*Brama*). They have no scruples as to what they eat and they drink even strong liquors, which make them more inclined to a life of war and license. They are very strong and brave, they go about with head and feet bare, armed with a lance and with a little bag of leather in which they carry water, for all their accoutrement. The population may be as high as 100,000, not counting women and children. They are generally speaking nomads, but they gather from time to time in bands of nine or ten thousand to make raids on the Sikhs and the Raja of Bikaner and carry off their cattle. I succeeded in getting them together, settling them in villages, engaging them in cultivation and bringing them under the authority of Law. Before my departure the revenue was being collected peaceably, and ere long produced near two hundred thousand rupees (about 600,000 *livres*).

While I was occupied in this way war broke out again against the Raja of Jaipur. General Perron had already taken the field with two of his brigades, the second and the fourth. In

War is declared against
the Raja of Jaipur.

accordance with the orders he had sent me, I joined him with mine, the third, eight leagues from Jaipur under the walls of Bhandarej where he was encamped. The Raja who was encamped

Capture of the town of
Bhandarej (*Bandarcesse*).

between us and Jaipur three leagues away was intercepting our convoys. The town of Bhandarej had refused us supplies

and I was ordered to take them by force. This town is situated in flat country and had mud fortifications of considerable strength with a garrison of 10,000 Rajputs to defend them. During the night I placed in position ten siege-guns and all next day they played on the walls. The following day the breach was practicable. I promised my troops that they should be allowed to plunder the town and I gave the order for the assault. After a stubborn fight in the breach which lasted for three hours, we carried the town, and forced our way into the fort without a check. The troops as they entered, trampled under foot a large number of men, women and children who had taken refuge in the gateway and were crowded together one on the top of the other. We found in the fort three lakhs of rupees (900,000 *livres*). The town was afterwards given over to the license of the soldiery and experienced all the excesses of which they are capable. The effects of this terrible punishment were felt far and wide. A number of women who had been lucky enough to escape, were violated by the Rohillas in the army. These horrors which are more difficult to avoid in Hindustan than in Europe had at least one good result in that they terrified the men of Jaipur, and induced them to submit to everything that was demanded of them

in order to secure peace. At the close of the war, I was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel and was stationed with my brigade at Dehli where I remained for four months doing nothing.

I am nominated Lieut.
Colonel.

Daulat Rao Sindhia had in Jaswant Rao Holkar an active and formidable enemy. His successes alarmed Sindhia who summoned Perron to his capital Ujjain to consult him.

Perron had made this journey before, but this time he did not venture to undertake it. For some time past he (Sindhia) had noticed that his General was more master in his estates than he was himself. He had shown some dissatisfaction because Perron never gave him any accounts and merely sent him from time to time certain sums of money, while he accumulated treasure in the towns of Agra, Delhi, Aligarh and Koil, apart altogether from the considerable sums which he had sent into English territory. Perron knew of Sindhia's dissatisfaction, and excused himself for not attending on the ground of ill-health. He contented himself with sending to his assistance a single brigade commanded by M. Dudrenece.

Perron saw with pleasure the anxiety which Holkar was causing Sindhia, though he did not then regard him as a dangerous rival. He hoped in that way to keep the Prince permanently in a state of dependence, and to increase his own power and influence.

Sindhia and his ally Baji Rao Peshwa were completely defeated by Holkar who entered Poona the capital of the Peshwa in triumph towards the end of October 1802.

It was in consequence of this defeat that Baji Rao Peshwa threw himself into the arms of the English, and concluded with them a treaty which transferred his territories to them and first gave them a voice in the affairs of the Marathas, while his brother Jinot Rao was put on the throne by Holkar. Fateful period . . . source of the misfortunes of Hindustan.

Thus by his jealousy and his unquenchable thirst for gold, Perron was the prime cause of the misfortunes of Sindhia and the Peshwa and of the loss of Hindustan. But it was reserved for him to add to his faults the most odious and most fatal crime for India and France—I might almost say for the whole world.

In May 1803, the forces of the English company, starting from their headquarters in Madras and Bombay, joined those of their ancient slave the Nizam, brought the Peshwa back to Poona and replaced him on the throne. This event entirely changed the face of affairs. The intervention of the English in the affairs of the Princes of India produced one happy result in that it re-united Holkar and Sindhia. They forgot their differences and took counsel with the Raja of Berar with the object of saving the Maratha empire and its chief from the British yoke, in spite of the refusal of Perron to send any effective help.

From this moment everything pointed to war with the English.

The beginning of Gen. Perron's treachery. Ambaji, the prince who was so powerful at the court of Sindhia was the soul of the new league formed against their power. He conveyed to Perron in the name of the Prince orders to hold himself in readiness for anything that might happen in case of a rupture with the English. But the only measures which Perron took were those which he could not omit without declaring himself a traitor.

The English under a most frivolous pretext had just taken from a neighbouring Prince the fortress of Sasni where they had formed an arsenal of arms and munitions of war. This fortress is three leagues from Koil, the residence and headquarters of Perron, but he allowed them to establish themselves there unopposed.

Perron knowing that the army had some confidence in me, sent me to the other end of Asia to the Sikhs, under pretext of demanding from them the tribute which they owed as feudatories of the empire, but in order to ensure the failure of my mission, he instructed me to demand from them at the same time assistance in men. This double demand would have caused the Sikhs to rise, but as I had some influence with them, I succeeded in obtaining from them money and 20,000 men. I brought with me Ghulam Muhammad Khan, Chief of the Rohillas of Rampur, whose estates had been invaded by the English. He alone was able to supply us with 60,000 good soldiers, but Perron's subsequent conduct made this assistance of no avail.

The successes of the English had alarmed all the Princes of India and though the majority of them had reason to complain against Perron, they offered him troops and money for the common defence.

In order to give an idea of the forces which were at Perron's disposal and which he could have collected round him in fifteen or twenty days, I proceed to enumerate them.

List of the forces under the orders of Perron.

	Men.
1. Fateh Singh, Raja of Jaipur ..	60,000
2. Ranjit Singh, Raja of Bharatpur ..	60,000
3. Rao Raja ¹	20,000
4. The Raja of Karauli of the tribe of Jats	20,000
5. Daya Ram, Raja of Hathras, and the Raja of Sasni his relation, declared enemy of the English ..	30,000

¹ I.e. of Alwar.

	Men.
6. Bapu Sindbia	60,000
7. The Raja Ram Dayal	20,000
8. The Raja of Parichatgarh, Surat Singh	20,000
9. Tra Singh, Raja of Balangor	10,000
Apart from these native troops, Perron had two brigades of 8,000 men each, perfectly disciplined. . .	
and finally 20,000 cavalry, organized in European style trained to hard work and to manœuvres	20,000
<hr/>	
	336,000

Such were the imposing forces which Perron might have had under his orders, and with which he would have been able not only to preserve the Maratha Empire, but, what was more, to drive out the English from all their possessions. For their troops were scattered at different points, and I cannot mention without indignation that the English forces opposed to Perron hardly amounted to 8,000 men of whom two-thirds were of the country. But instead of listening to the voice of honour, a base avarice made him plunge these nations into an abyss of misfortune.

Vainly did the ambassadors of these Princes urge him to give his orders for the *rendezvous* of the federated troops. He always found some excuse and managed in this way to lead them on from delay to delay right up to the terrible catastrophe which he was engineering.

But let us resume the thread of our narrative. Perron, surprised to see me succeeding in my mission so promptly and so well wrote to me to report myself at Delhi with all the Sikhs I could collect. I sent him ten thousand horse and put the other ten thousand in my advance guard. I ordered my troops to make forced marches and arrived at Delhi on the 22nd August, 1803. I meant to continue my march towards Koil where Perron was, when he sent me orders to encamp under the walls of Delhi, to pitch the tent of the Mughal Emperor Shah Alam, to persuade him to occupy it and to send him with my brigade, which I had left in charge of one of my officers, to Agra. When I had done that I was to rejoin him alone.

On the other hand, this treacherous Chief removed another brigade of 8,000 men, trained and commanded by Major Gélina¹

¹ The manuscript gives this name in three forms, Gélina, Gelin and Geslin.

who by his orders moved out some leagues from Delhi. Thus instead of concentrating his forces, Perron was dispersing them and, under the pretence of not knowing what plan to adopt, was preventing the concentration of the auxiliary troops.

However much surprised I may have been at the receipt of the order which instructed me to camp at Delhi in such circumstances, I obeyed, and had the Imperial tent pitched. But in vain I urged the Emperor to occupy it. The old man could not bring himself to leave his usual place of residence and evaded by his delays all my urgent entreaties. The only resource left to me was force, but the far-seeing Perron had not authorized me to use it.

When he gave these orders, he had been acquainted for a long time with the movements of the English army. He knew that as early as the 7th August, 1803, General Lake had started from Cawnpore and was marching towards Koil where he arrived on the 28th of the same month. If these faulty dispositions had been merely the result of ignorance or mistake and not of treachery and treason, Perron would have hastened to alter them when the enemy approached him. He only wanted two or three days to concentrate at Koil Major Gelin's brigade and mine, which made up 16,000 picked infantry and which, added to the 20,000 cavalry which he had and to the 20,000 Sikhs which I had brought, would have been more than enough to wipe out 8,000 men.

But it is time to reveal the secret of this infamous conduct. I have said above that Perron had amassed a considerable amount of treasure. He had deposited it at Agra, where his nephew was in command, at Delhi with the banker *Assonerah*¹ in the fortress of Aligarh and at Koil in the fortress where he resided. But he had been meditating treason for a long time, and had remitted (*sic*) to various bankers at Calcutta in British territory, among others to the firm of Coqueret, 28 lakhs of rupees (8,400,000 *lirres*). His confidential agent in his intrigues was an Englishman named Becket. The British Government of India knew about it and had seen with pleasure the man who, alone in these countries, was able to check their progress, put himself in a position of dependence on them, by remitting his fortune to British territory and taking an Englishman as his confidential agent and witness of his most secret actions. This precaution showed the *arrière pensée* in Perron. The English leaders divined this, and it appeared that at this time, after secret negotiations with him, they arranged the plan of invasion, which otherwise would have been absurd and impracticable with an army of 2,000 Europeans and 6,000 men of the country against a disciplined and war-trained army which was capable of being raised to 300,000 men.

¹ Possibly Assonesah in this place but the name is clearly written Assonerah lower down. The real name may have been Hasan Shah.

But Perron saw the storm gathering over his head. His Prince, dissatisfied with his malpractices and his independence, annoyed above all at his refusal to come when summoned, and at the weakness of the succours he had sent at the most critical moment, had given him a successor in the person of Ambaji whom Perron had long disliked and who was already on the way to relieve him. From that moment his only thought was for his personal safety and for the safety of his treasure.

These were the real causes of the inaction, and apparent indecision of this man who till then had displayed the greatest activity in all his operations.

It was, then, in complete confidence that General Lake was marching against Perron with his 8,000 men. Perron, in spite of having scattered his forces, still had with him 20,000 cavalry and 10,000 Sikhs with thirty horse artillery guns fully equipped. These forces were more than sufficient to win a victory over the enemy and Perron was obliged to use all his influence to keep his men within the bounds of obedience.

On the 29th August, 1803, at 7 a.m. the English army advanced on Aligarh, a fortress which is situated one and a half leagues from Koil where Perron was. The officers and the Chiefs of the Marathas, who were alarmed by the studied delays of Perron, the dispersion of his troops, the refusal of all assistance and his inaction even in the presence of the enemy, crowded round him and, throwing their turbans at his feet, entreated him in the name of honour to let them smash the English battalions. The answer of this traitor was, "The first man who cocks his piece or fires a shot, I will have him hanged." At the first shot fired by the English guns, what does he do? He orders a retreat.

"However," says an official report of the British Government

Official Report.

(Appendix to the notes relative to the late transactions in the Maratta Empire, Cal-

cutta, 1805) which is in my possession, "the position held by M. Perron was strong and favourable for repelling the British attack. His front was completely covered by an extensive marsh, which in some places was impassable. His flank was protected by the fort of Aligarh while the nature of the ground, and the position of certain villages which were occupied by his troops gave him considerable advantage." "Nevertheless," says the same report, "he abandoned the field of battle without daring to risk an engagement."

It is easy to imagine the impression made on Perron's troops by so manifest an act of treachery. Throughout the march the troops loudly accused him of treachery and heaped curses on him. Three thousand of his cavalry abandoned him, and came on the following day to my brigade, spreading among my men the indignation they themselves

Insurrection of the Troops.

felt. I could not help sharing the general feeling, nor could I dream of giving a favourable colour to what had happened. Even had I wished to defend Perron's cause, I should only have compromised myself to no avail, as the fury of the troops against him was at its height. They were unwilling to recognise his authority any longer and all they demanded was his blood and that of his accomplices. However, I proposed to the two brigades and to the cavalry that they should choose from among themselves men to go to the General and find out exactly what he had done. They refused. I then took the only course which was left to me, consistent with my personal honour, the loyalty due to Daulat Rao Sindhia, and the interests of my country, which were naturally bound up with those of the Indian Princes. I took supreme command of my brigade, and endeavoured to rally our scattered troops, and lead them against the enemy. I sent the Emperor's tent back to Delhi, and retired on from it on the Agra road. I took up a position on the banks of the Jumna opposite the second brigade, which on its arrival from Sikandra had encamped on the other side of the stream. This brigade which was commanded by Major Geslin, had the same views as mine in regard to General Perron. I was asked by Major Geslin in his own name and in the name of his troops to go and see him. I did so. As I landed, I received a salute of 21 guns, and Major Geslin at once put himself under my orders. I caused his brigade to cross the river, to join mine under the walls of Delhi. I assembled around me as many cavalry as possible. I paid my troops and collected all the supplies and munitions that were necessary, and, but for the disturbances which followed, I should very shortly have been in a position to lead a respectable force against the enemy.

To show the nature and the cause of these disturbances I must return to General Perron.

After the affair of the 29th he had withdrawn to a village five leagues from Koil. The English took good care not to molest him there. He had shown them too clearly his devotion to their interests, but his own troops were in his way. Feeling sure that he would be forgiven an act of hostility which was necessary to secure his own safety, and which moreover fitted in with his plan of dispersing his troops he beguiled his cavalry with the hope of booty and sent the whole of it under the command of Captain Fleury, to make a raid on English territory, only keeping by him his body guard composed of 600 horsemen who were specially attached to him. The Rajas of Bharatpur (*Bordpour*) and Hathras, either unwilling to believe in his defection or anxious to test him, offered him at this juncture an asylum in their territories. He declined both offers, his one object being to get out of Hindustan.

The English caused a proclamation to be circulated ordering

officers of their nation who were in Sindhia's service to join them under pain of being considered traitors to their own country, and inviting French officers to follow the same course with promises of great rewards. At the same time General Perron sent three emissaries to our brigades, whose business was to promote unrest and discord among the troops and to corrupt the officers with gifts. These three emissaries were the General's Dewan, the chief of his Karkara-¹ and his private Secretary. I had them arrested, but they had already had time to sow the seeds of disorganisation amongst us.

On the 4th September, General Perron proceeded to Agra, not in order to protect the place, but to remove from it his wife and 24 lakhs of rupees (7,200,000 *livres*), which he had entrusted to his nephew, George Hessing, who was in command there. Perron sent him a request to this effect, but Hessing replied that he could enter Agra and take command, but as long as he (Hessing) remained in command he would be faithful to his Prince and would defend the place against the latter's enemies: the treasure, he said, belonged to Sindhia, who alone could dispose of it. As to Perron's wife and children, he sent them to him. As Perron declined to enter the city, this was all he was able to obtain. He consoled himself for this loss no doubt in the belief that the English would fulfil their promises, but events proved in this, as in so many other instances, that a traitor is always despised and deceived even by those who profit by his treason.

The wealthy banker of Delhi *Assonerah* held another twelve lakhs of rupees (3,600,000 *livres*) at Perron's credit, but the extreme excitement of the troops remaining around him prevented him from going to recover the money. It was at this point that, throwing discretion to the winds, he completed his own disgrace and the ruin of the territories and the troops entrusted to his care.

On the 5th September he wrote to the English General that he had given up Sindhia's service and requested a passport for Lucknow. This date is established by an official despatch of General Lake which has been published in the English Press. These are the terms in which the event is described.

“On the 7th September the Commander-in-Chief (Lake), received a letter, dated the 5th Sept., from Mr. Perron informing the Commander-in-Chief that he had resigned the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia, and begging for permission to pass with his family, his

¹ The spelling in the original is clear. Possibly the *darogha karkhanajat* is referred to, or *Karkaras* may be a mistake for *Harkaras*.

possessions and the officers who were with him, to Lucknow, through the territories of the Hon'ble Company and the Nawab Wazir. Mr. Perron further requested the Commander-in-Chief to supply him with an escort, composed partly of English troops and partly of his own guard. General Lake immediately granted Mr. Perron's request, and allowed him to enter the territory of the Company accompanied by an English Officer who escorted him to Lucknow. General Lake also permitted Mr. Perron to be escorted by his own guard and caused him to be received in British territory with every mark of respect and honour."

It has been seen that on the 5th September, the date of his letter,

Attempt by Perron to have
me assassinated.

Perron had solemnly resigned Sindhia's service, if infamous treason deserves the name of resignation. On the 6th he re-

collected that there were still two brigades in front of Delhi each of 8,000 well disciplined men who, commanded as they were by officers who had no part in his treachery, might still give battle to the English. He realized that these circumstances would deepen his disgrace and wrote to Captain Guérinière the following letter, the original of which is in my possession and which I copy here word for word:—

"Sir,

I have just learnt with great sorrow that Colonel Louis Bourquien has become a rebel. As soon as you receive this letter take a good pair of pistols, go to Colonel Bourquien's quarters and say to him, 'I have the General's orders to put you under arrest. Will you submit or not?' If he replies that he will not, blow his brains out at once without waiting an instant. After that, show this paper to the officers and troops and when you have done that, march with the brigade to join me immediately.

I am Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Camp dated 6th Sept. 1803)

(Sd.) C. PERRON.

If you are a Frenchman and in the service of Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindhia you will execute these orders as soon as you receive them.

(Sd.) C. PERRON."

But this was not Perron's only act of treachery. He had with him a private agent who performed the duties of Pay Master of the forces. He sent this man to my brigade to tamper with its loyalty, but I thwarted this design and persuaded the man to remain faithful to the Prince. He signed a formal engagement to that effect with Majors Dugeon and Geslin and myself and this document, written in Persian, is in my possession.

The reader will remember that in accordance with Perron's orders I was encamped under the walls of Delhi waiting for the Mughal Emperor to make up his mind to come into my camp. There are few countries in which events of military importance become known so rapidly as in India. Each Brigade has its news-writer (*gazetier*) and every Raja's contingent its writer (*écrivain*) who every evening compiles an account of the day's events.

News of the affair of August 29th of Perron's shameful flight, and of his refusal to fight had spread rapidly. I refused to believe the first reports, and bade those who were spreading them keep silence. However, it was soon impossible for me to question the correctness of the news. A multitude of communications reached me and I was convinced that the calamity had really happened. My first act was to collect the principal Maratha officers of my brigade and to sign with them a formal undertaking to stand by the Prince and give battle to the English. I have the original of this undertaking written in Persian.

After the first explosion of indignation in my camp there came a feeling of general mistrust. "All the Europeans are traitors" was the cry on all sides, "and all are in league with their infamous chief."

Emissaries sent by Perron were fomenting discord and sedition.

I am put under arrest and watched by my own troops. rousing the passions of the troops and urging them to revolt. Things came to such a pass that I was arrested by my own troops together with my own European officers. My tent was surrounded by four companies, and twelve sentries with drawn swords were set over me. The troops chose as their chief a Maratha Commissary who came to examine my papers in order to see whether I was in league with Perron. My innocence was

I resume my command. established and my troops, who were attached to me, two days later again placed me in command. But there still remained in the force a certain amount of natural suspicion, so that the sentries were not removed and I was told that the troops would not move out except to cross the Jumna, by which we were encamped, and give battle to the English.

Similar events were occurring in the neighbouring brigade commanded by Major Geslin. He was arrested at the same time as I was, and like me, was released. We consulted as to how we should act, and as I was the senior I took command of both brigades.

The authority entrusted to me was, however, merely nominal.

Siege of Delhi. I was compelled to take orders rather than give them to my ill-disciplined

troops. Unwilling to have any foe behind them when marching against the English, they informed me that they intended to compel

Major Dugeon, who commanded in Delhi, to evacuate the place. In order to effect this resolve, some men were sent to the gates and the Prince's standard was displayed. The Major fired on it. The army promptly began to entrench. I was against a siege as the object did not justify the delay. Moreover, should I succeed in defeating the English, I should easily be able to gain access to the place. But it was the object of those who wished me ill to keep me suspect and they were successful. A rumour was set on foot that within my tent I kept a horse always ready saddled for flight. As a result, 300 Rohillas one night came there, determined to treat me with the utmost indignity. They might have done any thing in their blind fury, had not the native officer on guard at the door on my tent awed them by his firm demeanour. He stood at the tent door and barred the entrance, saying that he was ready to answer for me with his own head. He then had the tent wall lifted and convinced them that the charge against me was baseless. The Rohillas then withdrew.

No sooner had this outburst subsided than I had to face another. All discipline was gone. The native officers of the two brigades came to me in a body to say that they had lost all influence over their troops, and could no longer answer for my personal safety. They advised me to throw myself on the loyalty of the troops. I paraded all the battalions and declared that I was at their service. I said that I wished henceforth to fight in the ranks as a private soldier and to live among them. This attitude seemed to appeal to them. They acclaimed me with the greatest fervour, swore to respect me and carried me in triumph to the camp, where I remained under their guarantee.

In order to restore confidence completely I proposed to summon from Saharanpur (*Sarampur*) Bapu Sindhia, a relation of the Prince, and to place myself under his orders. This proposal was received favourable and I promptly sent a messenger to Bapu Sindhia, who without loss of time set out to join the army. Before his arrival, however, an irreparable misfortune put an end to my military career in the service of Daulat Rao Sindhia.

On the morning of the 10th September two Harkaras brought us news that the English had taken the fort of Aligarh by assault and were in full march on Delhi. The ranks resounded with shouts of "Let us cross the river and go to meet them." In any other circumstances, not having been able to take the initiative and attack the enemy before he advanced, I should have waited on my side of the Jumna, and endeavoured to prevent his crossing. But situated as I was, I might

Bapu Sindhia, a relation of the Prince, is sent for to take command.

Capture of the Fort of Aligarh by the English: they march on Delhi.

have found myself between the guns of the English and those of the Delhi fort. Moreover, I thought that to restore discipline among my troops, I must remove them from the camp in which they had mutinied. In their minds the idea of fighting the English was connected with crossing the river. I hoped that, once committed to so serious an enterprise, the troops would themselves feel the necessity of again submitting to discipline. Taking immediate advantage, therefore of their enthusiasm, I seized the flag of the nearest battalion and called out in a loud voice that any who wished to fight the English should follow me.

I went straight to the banks of the river and soon crossed it with one company. It was then 8 in the morning. By 11 o'clock at night I had with me 3,000 cavalry, 10 battalions of Infantry, and 60 guns of the brigade artillery. Five battalions remained in the trenches in front of Delhi.

Major Dugeon fearing my vengeance should I defeat the English sent me during the night his capitulation. I signed it without raising any objections, though I quite understood his motives.

The next day at 8 in the morning I learnt that the enemy's advanced guard was two leagues from us. I immediately sent out my cavalry, which fell upon it and entirely defeated it.

Perron's second attempt
against me.

Meanwhile, I was busy setting my troops in order of battle. I was fifty paces in front of the line, when a horseman came up to me and handed me a letter from Perron. This letter is entirely in his own handwriting and I have it in my possession. These are its contents :—

“ Louis, come to me at once. I give you my word of honour, that if you are not satisfied with my proposals you will be free to return. Come, do not ruin the interests of France and those of the Prince. I swear to you by what I hold most sacred, that if you are not satisfied you will be free to return. Start, my dear Louis, start, start.

Muttra, 9th Sept., 1803.

(Sd.) PERRON.”

The bearer of this letter, after I had read it, wished to draw me apart, saying that he had something to communicate to me privately.

Had I then known that the man who on the 9th September, spoke to me in this friendly way of the interests of France and of the interests of the Prince, had on the 5th asked for passports to take refuge in English territory after betraying both France and the Prince, and had on the 6th signed an order for my assassination, I should have had no doubt that this new emissary was on a similar

mission, and I should have had him arrested. But I contented myself with treating the message with contempt and sending back the messenger.

When drawing up my line of battle I placed Major Geslin's brigade, as it was senior to mine, on the right. In order to make full use of the advantage obtained by my cavalry I intended to advance at once against the enemy. The ground between us being quite level I wished to advance in order of battle in order to be ready for any eventuality. I gave orders accordingly, but the five battalions of the right wing instead of advancing in line chose to wheel to the right and form column of route (to the left) thus producing a great gap between the two wings¹—a sad foretaste of the experience I was to have of these battalions at the critical moment.

It was only after much insistence on my part that they again formed line with the five battalions on their left. My intention was to form a second line, but none of my battalions would take post there, so having come in sight of the enemy just as we were we found him in order of battle on the hitherside of a small river. On the far side of it he had previously been encamped. We advanced to within half gun-shot range and at this distance opened fire with our artillery, still advancing towards the enemy. When within grape-shot range we fired a volley, which caused disorder in the English ranks and forced them to flight. We pursued up to the small river. I then prevented my troops from advancing further and rallied them on the centre to await the enemy should he return to the charge, or to continue the pursuit in good order. The English, as it happened, reformed on their supports, and despite the fire of our artillery attacked our left wing in close column. This manoeuvre would have cost them dear, if I had had control over my troops. I sent an order to our right wing to form quarter left and charge the enemy. In this way the English column would have been taken in flank before it could deploy and would have been between two fires. I was not listened to. I went myself along the line and found Major Geslin sword in hand motionless at the head of his wing. He told me his battalions refused to obey him. I harangued them, I exhorted them, I implored them, for the time for threats was past. One of the battalions changed front, but remained where it was. Meanwhile, the five battalions of my brigade kept up the fight with the greatest courage. For four hours they resisted the enemy and retreated unbroken to the banks of the Jumna. But finally discouraged by the inaction of the right wing which had already withdrawn in a contrary direction

¹ It is not an easy thing to advance in line across country on a broad front, and the troops, in defiance of orders chose to advance in column.

towards Tappal even more than by the great losses they had endured, they yielded and scattered.

Abandoning hope of rallying my troops in the midst of the general confusion I re-crossed the Jumna and placed myself under the protection of the Raja of Ballabhgarh (*Balinghor*). Next day, I learned that all my effects which had remained in Delhi had been looted by the Emperor's people as soon as they heard of the loss of the battle. Major Dugeon, who had his part in the looting used my bullocks for the transport of his belongings when, after coming to terms with the English, he left Hindustan. He sold them subsequently at Farrukhabad.

The loss of this battle and its disastrous consequences for Hindustan are attributable to the treachery and the focus of rebellion always maintained by Perron in Major Geslin's brigade. The conspirators unfortunately seized with great skill the right moment to perfect their treacherous designs. I afterwards learned, in the English camp itself, that while they were rallying after their first rout one of our cavalry commanders went to them and assured them that if they contented themselves with attacking our left wing, the right would take no part in the affair.

Three days after this battle which was fought on the 11th September, unwilling to compromise my protector I was compelled to surrender myself to General Lake as a prisoner of war, together with the European officers of my brigade who had followed me. We were sent to Bengal. Throughout the journey we were wit-

Loathing and indignation
roused by the name of Per-
ron in Hindustan.

nesses of the general leathing inspired by Perron. The people of the country never mentioned his name without coupling it with the most odious epithets. As he passed through Lucknow in the very midst of the English possessions, he had been attacked with stones and covered with mud by the children of the city. When he reached Bengal he proposed to establish his residence at Titagarh where his agents had purchased a fine estate for him, but Titagarh adjoins the country house of the Governor General, who was unwilling to have Perron for his neighbour and ordered him to find another residence. Accordingly he established himself in the Dutch Settlements of Chinsura—a league from the French territory of Chandranagore—which he justly condemned himself never to enter.

On the 5th September Perron wrote to General Lake that he had resigned Sindhia's service and wished to transfer himself with his possessions (this was the essential point) to British territory. Deserting the service of one's Prince in presence of the enemy! Can there be more clear treason? Why not have gone back to the Prince? Why not have chosen a fortress in which to resist, *Bhatner* for

Conclusion.

instance, which is naturally impregnable? Why fly before the enemy without even a fight? Why refuse the assistance of his allies and disperse his forces instead of concentrating them? Why remove the artillery from the forts? and why dishonour his Prince and so many brave Europeans under his orders?

Though on the 5th Sept. he resigned the service of Sindhia, on the 6th he resumed his authority as General to order my assassination on the pretext that I had become a rebel. It seems that I had rebelled against a traitor to remain faithful to my Prince, to my honour and to my country. I was a rebel against Perron in order to fight the English, while he fled like a coward before them or begged for their protection, to defend him against the popular indignation which was loudly expressed. With a handful of brave men I fought a bloody action forcing the enemy to pay for an advantage which they had gained by the intrigues of Perron's treacherous emissaries, while he was busy opening the way for them into the territories which it was his duty to defend. It was he who disarmed me. The English have not conquered me.

But what can one say or think of this man, who after signing on the 6th an order for my assassination wrote to me on the 9th the most friendly letter offering to make proposals to me. What could his proposals have been except to take a share with him in his disgrace and in the proceeds of his villainy? Had they been honourable proposals why not have written them? Moreover what right had he to make proposals at all, since on the 5th of the month he had surrendered to the English?

I know that in their public despatches the English have tried to palliate his infamous conduct, though well aware of its odious nature. They accepted his account and assigned as causes, first the nomination of his successor, and secondly, the perfidy and ingratitude of his European officers. But did Hindustan belong to Perron as his private property? Had Sindhia in giving him command, lost the right of removing him from that command? Was the fact that his successor had been nominated sufficient to relieve Perron of all his obligations? Was he entitled to deliver up the country to the enemies of the Prince he served? and, what is more, to the everlasting enemies of his own country? As to the perfidy and ingratitude of his European officers, in what did they consist? Only in this, that these officers refused to follow his example. Neither military discipline nor personal ties could demand that they should be his accomplices in crime. They only ceased to recognise his authority when his treason was manifest, and when the army was so indignant at it that they could never have said a word in his justification without risking massacre.

Perron was a traitor to his Prince, to the Army, to the cause of France. He knew how anxious the English were to destroy those

Frenchmen in India, who caused them anxiety and who, though it is true without formal commission from their Government were inspired by the love of their country and served it by opposing the English. He did nothing to prevent them, and Sindhia, reduced to treating with the English, demanded that this traitorous General be given up to him. This was refused. So also was Perron's request for the restoration of the treasure which he had left in Delhi, Agra, and Aligarh and which had fallen into their possession. great though his treasures were, he got off lightly with the loss of the reward of his treachery.

Perron caused the failure of the expedition to Egypt.

Perron abandoned the gallant Tippu Sahib, the faithful ally of France and the scourge of the English.

Perron brought ruin to the French power in India which had taken deep root there.

Perron disorganised the regular armies of India.

Perron by refusing to help his own Princee and the Peshwa compelled the latter to surrender himself and his territories to the English.

Perron to sum up betrayed his Princee, his country, his army, delivered his forts and districts to the English and sacrificed all the Europeans to his own cupidity and ambition. He went over to the enemy.

Perron may try, but in vain, to justify himself by spurious letters from Sindhia and other Princes recognising, so he alleges, his innocence, with the object of throwing dust in the eyes of those who may be required to examine them. *These letters are forgeries made by him, sealed with the seal of Daulat Rao Sindhia, which was in his possession and which he took away with him—for the custom of the country is not to sign writings, but only to affix a seal to them.*

Never did a man rise from obscurity to play so brilliant a part and never has a mere private individual afflicted his country with greater calamities.

But Perron has gorged himself with wealth, even though he has only saved a part of the riches he had accumulated. He owns the finest jewels in India. Let him keep this gold at the cost of his honour and these jewels, the monuments of his shame, and let him, if he can, enjoy the peace and rest which only a conscience free of remorse and the knowledge of duties, both private and public, faithfully discharged can bestow.

As for myself, I feel that I have fulfilled all my duties. I fought in India against the enemies of my country. All who knew me there are ready to give evidence in my favour. Princes, soldiers, and inhabitants would with one voice testify that all I did whether as administrator or as a military commander was done in complete disinterestedness and the deepest loyalty. In the same

spirit I shall, when I have returned to my own country, eagerly seize the opportunity of devoting my services to furthering the success of the arms of the hero who governs it with such glory.

(Signed) L. BOURQUIEN.

Facts and Fancies about the Iron Pillar of Old-Delhi.¹

J. PH. VOGEL, PH.D.

The transfer of the capital of India to Delhi proclaimed at the Imperial Durbar of 12th December, 1911, was well calculated to appeal to the national feelings of both Hindus and Moslems. For the latter Delhi had been the centre of their political power during the whole period of their supremacy in Hindustan. The ancient mosques and mausoleums scattered over the sites of no less than seven cities of Delhi still embody the whole Muhammadan period of Indian history. Earliest in date are the Qutb Minār and the adjoining mosque founded after the conquest of Delhi in A.D. 1193.

Hindu traditions relating to Delhi go back to a much more remote past. They locate here the ancient city of Indraprastha the capital of the Pāṇḍavas whose story is told in the great Sanskrit epic Mahābhārata. The modern name of Indrapat borne by the village occupying one of the seven city-sites—the Qila-i-Kohna of Sher Shāh and Humāyūn—seems to confirm the ancient tradition, but no antiquarian remains have yet come to light to put it beyond the possibility of doubt.²

This much is certain that in the pre-Muhammadan history of India, as far as it has been established mainly from the epigraphical material, Delhi does not play any conspicuous part. It is only in the days of the Moslem invasions when it emerges from obscurity. At the time when its last Hindu ruler, Pirthī Rāj, was conquered and slain by Shāhāb-ud-Dīn, it must have been a place of some importance. This is still evidenced by the columns of Hindu temples—twenty-seven idol-houses according to an Arabic inscription—which the conqueror utilized in the construction of his mosque.

Besides these Hindu colonnades, there are at Delhi only three monuments belonging to the pre-Muhammadan period, two of which—the inscribed pillars of Aśoka—are known to have come from elsewhere. Firoz Shāh Tughlaq who ordered them to be brought

¹ The present paper was contributed to the International Congress of Historical Studies held at London in the year 1913. It has since been considerably enlarged.

² V. A. Smith, *The Oxford History of India*, Oxford, 1919, p. 196.

to his capital, has himself left us a graphic account of their removal, an enterprise attended with great difficulty.

The third monument in question is the famous Iron Pillar which stands in the courtyard of the Quwwat-ul-Islām, the mosque of Quṭb-ud-Dīn Aibak, not far from the village of Mihrauli (also spelled Mehrauli and Meharauli). It can easily be understood that a monument of so exceptional a nature and, moreover, inscribed with mysterious characters, must have given rise to many strange speculations.

One of the earliest references is that by the famous Arab traveller Ibn Batūtah who stayed at Delhi in the reign of Muḥammad Tughlaq and notes the Iron Pillar in the course of his description of the great mosque of Quṭb-ud-Dīn. "C'est au milieu de la mosquée que l'on voit une énorme colonne fabriquée avec un métal inconnu. Un des savants Indiens m'a dit qu'elle s'appelle *Heft-djôuch* [هفت جوش] c'est à dire "les sept métaux" et qu'elle est composée d'autant de métaux différents. On a poli cette colonne sur une étendue égale à la longueur de l'index, et cet endroit poli brille d'un grand éclat. Le fer ne laisse aucune trace sur cette colonne. Sa longueur est de trente coudées : nous enroulâmes autour d'elle la toile d'un turban, et la portion de cette toile qui en fit le tour était longue de huit coudées."¹

The Arab author, it will be noticed, does not make any mention of the inscription which in more modern times has ever been regarded as the most remarkable feature of the pillar. As regards the metal of which it is made—the only question which apparently interested him—he was ill-informed.

Thomas Coryat, one of the first English visitors of Hindustan, says the following in a letter to Mr. L. Whitaker: "From the Court of the most mightie Monarch, called the Great Mogol, resident in the Towne of Asmere, in the Orientall India. Anno 1615."

"I have bin in a Citie in this Countrey called Detee [*read Delee*] where Alexander the Great joyned Battell with Porus King of India, and conquered him; and in token of his victorie, erected a Brasse Pillar, which remayneth there to this day."²

Carr Stephen, in quoting this passage, assumes that one of the two Aśoka pillars is meant, but I agree with Sir Edward Maclagan that more probably it is intended to refer to the Iron Pillar at the Quṭb. Terry, however, says on Coryat's authority thatt he pillar was marble.³

¹ *Voyages d'Ibn Batoutah*, texte arabe, accompagné d'une traduction par C. Deffrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti. Paris 1853/58. Tome III, p. 150.

² Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrims, Vol. IV, p. 476.

³ Carr Stephen, *The Archaeology and monumental remains of Delhi*. Ludhiana and Calcutta, 1876, p. 130. E. D. Maclagan, *Early English Visitors to the Punjab in Journal Panjab Historical Society*, Vol. I (1901), p. 115.

A very similar passage occurs in a "List of countries of India" which is found at the end of Sir Thomas Roe's journal. "Delly, the chiefe Citie so called" it says, "lyeth on the North-west side of the River Iemnie, which falleth into Ganges, and runneth through Agra: it is an ancient Citie, and the Seat of the Mogols Ancestors, it is ruined: some affirme it to have been the Seat of Porus conquered by Alexander, and there stands a Pillar with a Greeke Inscription."¹

The tradition that Delhi had once been the capital of Porus, the renowned adversary of Alexander the Great, is also quoted by the French traveller, Jean de Thevenot. But the monument supposed to have been erected by the Macedonian conqueror in token of his victory, was—according to his informants—not the Iron Pillar, but the Aśoka pillar of Firozābād.

The author, however, expresses some doubt as regards the authenticity of the tradition. I give the passage in full.

"Il y a eu trois villes de Dehly, les unes après les autres : La première, qui est entièrement détruite, and dont il ne reste que quelques ruines estoit fort ancienne, et les doctes Indiens veulent qu'elle ait esté la Capital des Etats du Roy Porus, si fameux par la guerre qu'il fit contre Alexandre le Grand."

"Il y a vers la sepulture d'Humayon, une Pyramide ou Obélisque de pierre, qui marque par ses caractères inconnus une grande antiquité, et que l'on croit aux Indes avoir esté élevée par l'ordre d'Alexandre, après le défaite de Porus. Ce que je ne puis croire, ne doutant pas, si cela estoit, que l'inscription n'en fust Grecque, et elle ne l'est pas."²

François Bernier, the court physician of Aurangzeb, seems also to refer to the Iron Pillar in the following passage:—

"A deux lieuës de la Ville du côté d'Agra, dans un lieu que les Mahumetans ont nommé Koia Kotub-eddine, il y a un Edifice très-ancien qui a été un Deïra ou Temple d'Idoles, où il y a des Inscriptions qui doivent aussi être très-anciennes, parce que ce sont des caractères que personne ne connoit, et qui sont différents de ceux de toutes les langues des Indes."³

Although no mention is made of the column itself, we may assume that the inscriptions of which the author speaks were those on the Iron Pillar. This may be inferred from the locality being designed as *Koia Kotub-eddine*, i.e. *Khwāja Qutb-ud-Dīn*, and from the mention of the idol-temple or Deïra which once stood on the spot of the mosque.

¹ *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas his Pilgrimes*, London 1625, Vol. I, pp. 578f

² Jean de Thevenot, *Voyages contenant la relation de l'Indostan des nouveaux Mogols, et des autres peuples et pays des Indes*, Paris, 1684, pp. 120f.

³ François Bernier, *Voyages contenant la description des États du grand Mogol*, Amsterdam, 1699. Tome II p. 75. English edition revised by V. A. Smith, London, 1914, p. 283.

Another contemporaneous traveller, the Venetian adventurer Niccolao Manucci, speaks of the Iron Pillar, but is less reserved in his comments than the Frenchman just quoted. In the course of a discussion on the "probability of the Chinese having been in Hindustan," Manucci adduces arguments to prove "that the Chinese were once lords of Hindustan, and they were ejected by the Pathans."

"During the time that I dwelt in Hindustan," he says, "I saw various ancient buildings with many Chinese images and letters cut on the stones and other such works, all of which give rise to the idea that the Chinese had dwelt here. Two leagues from the city of Delhi there is an ancient city called Cojacotobdim [*Khwājah Qutb-ud-Dīn*] so named from an ancient tomb, still existing, whose builders have vanished. At this place I have seen several times a very ancient hall built of great stones. In front of the said hall there is a pillar of bronze buried in the rock: it is two arms' length in height and nine palms in circumference. On this pillar there are some engraved letters, and to this day no one has been able to recognise what letters they are, although many inquirers have done their best to find out what they are meant to denote. The inhabitants say that the letters are Chinese."¹

Among later travellers I only wish to quote Reginald Heber, Lord Bishop of Calcutta, who visited Delhi in the reign of Akbar II. In a letter dated March 1825, he says:—

"The oldest things which I have seen of which the date could be at all ascertained, are some detached blocks of marble, with inscriptions, but of no appalling remoteness: and two remarkable pillars of black mixed metal, in a Patan fort near Delhi, and at Cuttab-Miner, in the same neighbourhood, both covered with inscriptions which nobody can read, but both mentioned in Mussulman history as in their present situation at the time when the "believers" conquered Delhi, about A.D. 1000."

That Bishop Heber, like some 17th century travellers, erroneously took the monolith of Firozābād too to be of metal, is also evident from a passage in his itinerary, where he refers to that monument in the following terms: "It [Firozābād] is chiefly remarkable for a high black pillar of cast metal, called Firoze's walking stick. This was originally a Hindoo work, the emblem, I apprehend, of Siva, which stood in a temple in the same spot, and concerning which there was a tradition, like that attached to the coronation stone of the Scots, that while it stood the children of Brahma were to rule in Indraput."

¹ *Storia do Mogor or Mogol India*, 1653-1708 by Niccolao Manucci Venetian translated with introduction and notes by William Irvine. London, 1907, Vol. I, pp. 151 ff.—

Further on he mentions the Iron Pillar again in the following terms :—

“ In front of the principal of these great arches is a metal pillar like that in Firoze Shah’s castle, and several other remains of a Hindoo palace and temple, more ancient than the foundation of the Koottab, and which I should have thought striking, if they had not been in such a neighbourhood.”¹

The travellers of the beginning of the 19th century no longer repeat the wild speculations about the Iron Pillar having been a monument of Alexander the Great. By this time it was sufficiently known that the armies of the Macedonian conqueror never penetrated further east than the river Bias. In the accounts, however, often reference is made to the curious legend which connects the Iron Pillar very closely with the fall of the Hindu empire and the conquest of Delhi by the Muhammadans.

This legend which we find already in the *Prithi Rāj Rāsa* by the bard Chand is related in Sayyid Ahmad’s well-known work *Athār-us-sanādīd* in the following passage² :—

“ During the time of Rai Pithora [i.e. Prithī Rāj], astrologers told him that they could fix a pillar in his city with the effect that, as long as it would remain firm, his rule would not be abolished. Rai Pithora asked them the reason. The Pandits explained, in reply, the movements of the stars and their influence, which Rai Pithora could not understand, and, as its erection required a large amount of money, he did not venture it. At last one of the Pandits, who was very old and exceeding wise, thought that nothing could be achieved without making the simple Rājā comprehend the matter and, bearing in mind ‘Talk to the people according to their wisdom,’³ undertook to frame a story which could be understood by him.”

“ With this intention he dropped, one day again, a hint on the subject. Rai Pithora, as usual, asked the reason. The Pandit addressed the king with folded hands and said : ‘ This thing is not such as to be told, but, as you ask so much, come on one side and listen to the whole of it, but do not mention it to anyone else.’

“ The Raja, at once, retired with him into privacy where the Pandit said : ‘ Listen O Mahārāj Pirthī Rāj ! The master and god of the whole earth is Rāja Bāsak,⁴ i.e. the King of the

¹ R. Heber, *Journey through the Upper Provinces of India* (1824-25) 2nd edition, 1828, Vol. II, pp. 291 and 307, and Vol. III, p. 364.

² Sayyid Ahmad, *Athār-us-Sanādīd*, Lucknow, 1900 (reprinted from the first edition of the year 1847), Part I, pp. 95ff. of French translation of the second edition is given in *Journal Asiatique*, 5e serie, Tome XVI, under the title: *Description des monuments de Delhi en 1852 d’après le texte hindoustani de Saïyid Ahmad Khan par M. Garcin de Tassy*. In the second edition the above quoted passage has been omitted.

³ In Arabic in the original.

⁴ The Nāgā King Vāsuki of Sanskrit literature, who is still extensively

Snakes, who wanders all around the earth. Within a few days he is to come here, and we will drive this pillar into his head ; neither will this pillar be removed nor shall Rājā Bāsak go away or shall this realm be disturbed.' This, Rai Pithora understood and ordered the pillar to be fixed. All the Pandits assembled, and, while observing the movements of the stars, they fixed the pillar at the auspicious time. The Rājā asked the Pandits whether the pillar was driven into the head of Rājā Bāsak, to which they replied in the affirmative. After some time Rai Pithorā felt some suspicions and became anxious to know whether or not the pillar had been driven into the head of Rājā Bāsak. Consequently he sent for the Pandits and asked them to show him the head of Rājā Bāsak or to remove the pillar so as to see whether it was besmeared with blood."

"Howsoever the Pandits dissuaded him, he did not listen to them and ordered the pillar to be removed. What was there ? No question of blood or Rājā Bāsak ! But the Pandits, to make these words true, by some trick soiled the foot of it with blood and said : 'Look, it was right on the head of Rājā Bāsak.' Rai Pithora felt great sorrow and had the pillar refixed then and there. What could be gained by refixing it ? The time was gone. Not long after that, the Moslems made their appearance. Rai Pithora was either killed or imprisoned and sent to Ghazni, and the country passed into their possession."

The legend related above is more generally associated with the Tomara chief Anang Pāl, i.e. in the account given by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

"According to universal tradition," he says, "the Iron Pillar was erected by Bilan Deo, or Anang Pal, the founder of the Tomara dynasty, who was assured by a learned Brahman that, as the foot of the pillar had been driven so deep into the ground that it rested on Vasuki, King of the Serpents, who supports the Earth, it was now immoveable, and that dominion would remain in his family as long as the pillar stood. But the Raja, doubting the truth of the Brahman's statement, ordered the pillar to be dug up, when the foot of it was found wet with the blood of the serpent king, whose head it had pierced. Regretting his unbelief, the Iron Pillar was again raised ; but, owing to the king's former incredulity, every plan now failed in fixing it firmly, and, in spite of all his efforts, it still remains loose (dhīla) in the ground, and this is said to have been the origin of the ancient city of Dhili."

worshipped under the name Bāsak or Bāskī in the Western Himālayas, particularly in the valley of Bhadarvāh which belongs to the Jammu-Kashmir State.

¹ *Report Arch. Survey of India*, Vol. I, pp.171ff, where various redactions of the legend are narrated. Cf. also Vol. XX, pp.139 ff.

The tradition, as Cunningham remarks, has been variously reported by different authorities, but the main points are the same in all. The story of the incredulous Raja and the Serpent King in whose head the pillar had been fixed, is generally supposed to account for the name *Delhi* which is derived from a Hindi adjective *dhilā* (ढीला) meaning "loose, not tight."¹ Apart from the legend with which it is associated, the derivation seems plausible. The earliest forms in which the name *Delhi* occurs in Sanskrit inscriptions are *Dhillī* (डिल्ली) *Dhillikā* (डिल्लिका) and *Dhilī* (डिलौ).² The name *Dhillī* may, indeed, be identical with the feminine form of the adjective *Dhilā*, the locality having originally been so designated from the nature of the soil.

The fancies of former generations which I have quoted above possess some fascination and afford to the archeologist some cause of legitimate pride on what has been achieved in the study of Indian antiquities by Western and Eastern scholarship combined. We owe it to the genius of James Prinsep, in the first place, that the mystery of the Iron Pillar has been solved. That great scholar—it is true—did not at once produce a fully accurate reading of the epigraph nor a wholly satisfactory interpretation of all its difficulties. It is only gradually and through the co-operation of many scholars that the true meaning of such a record can be established.

In the year 1838, Prinsep published an, on the whole fairly, accurate facsimile of the inscription due to Captain T. S. Burt, R.E., together with a transcript and a translation. In the light of later research the decipherment and, consequently, the rendering too presented by him, leave much to be desired. But it was a first attempt. Prinsep, at any rate, rightly recognised that the inscription is composed in Sanskrit and that the pillar is a monument set up in honour of Vishnu by a king whose victories are recorded in the inscription. He assigned it to the 3rd or 4th century after Christ. The king's name he made out to be Dhava. In the course of his notes Prinsep also observes that the shaft is composed of wrought iron. "Raja Dhava," he says, "has left behind him at any rate, a monument of his skill in forging iron, for the pillar is a well-wrought circular shaft of iron, longer and nearly as large as the shaft of the Berenice steamer!"³

¹ Hindi ढीला is the same as Mahārāshtrī दिक्क which is derived from Sanskrit शिथिल Vide Pischel, *Gramm. der Prakrit Sprachen*, p. 114. The Prakrit word occurs *Karpūramahājari* (ed. Konow), p. 8, l. 5 and p. 70, l. 8.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. V, pp. 36ff, Nos. 255, 259 & 270.

³ *Journal Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VII (1638), pp. 629ff. In Vol. III, p.

It will be remembered that previous authors from Ibn Batūtah onwards had invariably described the Delhi pillar as being made of bronze or some mixed metal. That this is incorrect was also pointed out by Sir Alexander Cunningham in his first report of 1862-63.¹

The pillar was subsequently examined and described by Cunningham's assistant, Mr. Beglar. He states the total height from the top of the capital to the bottom of the base to be 23 feet 8 inches. The capital is of the bell-shaped type.

The base of the pillar is an irregular knob in shape, resting on several little pieces like bits of bar-iron, let into the stone underneath and secured with lead.²

I may add that an analysis of specimens of the Iron Pillar has shown it to consist of iron for 99·27 per cent.³

"It is a mass of wrought iron", Mr. Vincent Smith says, "nearly 24 feet in length and estimated to weigh more than six tons. The metal is perfectly welded and its manipulation is a triumph of skill in the handling of a refractory material. It is not the only proof that the ancient Indians possessed exceptional mastery over difficult problems of working in iron and other metals."⁴

In the meanwhile a much improved reading of the inscription had been published by an Indian scholar, Bhau Daji of Bombay, in 1875. Although still containing a few inaccuracies, Bhau Daji's transcript and translation represent an enormous stride forwards in the interpretation of the document which had puzzled so many generations. He recognised the name of the king mentioned in the inscription to be Chandra, but did not feel justified in identifying him with one of the rulers of the Gupta dynasty. The alphabet employed in the epigraph he proposed to assign to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century of the Christian era.⁵

The Iron Pillar inscription was finally edited by Dr. J. E. Fleet in his monumental work on the Gupta inscriptions. The author feels inclined to identify the Chandra of the inscription with the first Chandragupta of the Gupta dynasty who must have lived in the fourth century. As regards the puzzling word *dhārena*, Dr. Fleet corrects it into *bhāvena* and translated it, as Bhau Daji had done "in faith." He admits, however, the possibility of *Dhāra* being

494, of the same journal, Prinsep had published a lithograph of the inscription which, however, was altogether inaccurate.

¹ A. Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey Report*, Vol. I, pp. 169ff.

² *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. IV, p. 28

³ Sir Robert Hadfield, *Sinhalese iron steel of ancient origin. Journal of the Iron and Steel Institute*. London, 1912, pp. 153ff., plate XIV. The analysis will be found on a loose sheet.

⁴ Vincent A. Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 196

⁵ *Journal Bombay Branch Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. X (1871-74), Bombay, 1875, pp. 63ff., Bhau Daji's paper was read on the 13th April, 1871.

another name of Chandra [gupta], on the analogy of the name *Kācha* found on some of the coins of Samudragupta.¹

First of all, let me give Dr. Fleet's version which has the advantage of being very literal.

"He, on whose arm fame was inscribed by the sword, when in battle in the Vanga countries he kneaded [and turned back] with [his] breast the enemies who, uniting together, came against [him];—he by whom, having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the [river] Sindhu, the Vāhlikas were conquered;—he, by the breezes of whose prowess the southern ocean is even still perfumed;—

"He, the remnant of the great zeal of whose energy, which utterly destroyed [his] enemies, like [the remnant of the great glowing heat] of a burned-out fire in a great forest, even now leaves not the earth, though he, the king, as if wearied, has quitted this earth, and has gone to the other world, moving in [bodily] form to the land [of paradise] won by [the merit of his] actions [but] remaining on [this] earth by [the memory of his] fame;—

"By him, the king,—who attained sole supreme sovereignty in the world, acquired by his own arm, and [enjoyed] for a very long time; [and] who, having the name of Chandra, carried a beauty of countenance like [the beauty of] the full-moon,—having in faith fixed his mind upon [the god] Vishṇu, this lofty standard of the divine Vishṇu was set up on the hill [called] Vishṇupada."

As usual in Indian inscriptions, the historical information is hidden under much rhetorical ornament. The historical facts to which the Iron Pillar inscription refers are that a ruler of the name of Chandra, evidently deceased at the time when it was composed, had conquered the Vaṅgas and the Vāhlikas or, which comes to the same, the Vaṅga and Vāhlika country; for in Sanskrit the tribal name in the plural is regularly used to indicate the country inhabited by the tribe in question. The Vaṅga country is undoubtedly Bengal. As to Vāhlika (also Bāhlika, usually spelled Vāhlika or Bāhlika), it is the Indian appellation of Bactria, *viz.*, the country of Balkh.² It has, however, been pointed out that this rendering cannot well be applied to Chandra's exploits and that the tribe vanquished by him should probably be located somewhere in Baluchistan, the ancient Gedrosia. This conclusion is indeed unavoidable, if we adopt the above rendering of the passage which says that

¹ *Corpus inscriptionum indicarum*, Vol. III. *Inscriptions of the early Gupta kings, and their successors*, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 139ff.

² G. Albrecht Weber, *Ueber Bāhlika Bāhlika*. *Sitzungsberichte der kön. preussischen Akad. der Wiss zu Berlin*, Vol. XLVII (1892). The author points out that Sanskrit *Bāhlika* is derived not from the Avestan word *Bākhdhī* (Old-Persian *Bākhtari*, Greek *Βάκτρα*), but from a Pehlvi form Bahl (or Bāhl) which does not occur previous to the beginning of the Christian era. The Pehlvi name has become modern Balkh (بلخ) through a metathesis which is not uncommon in Iranian languages.

Chandra conquered the Vāhlikas "after having crossed in warfare the seven mouths of the river Sindhū, *i.e.* the Indus.¹ It should, however, be remembered that Sanskrit names of foreign peoples—such as Yavana, Śaka, Pahlava—are often very loosely used by Indian authors, so that the first mentioned appellation, originally applied to the Greeks (the "Ionians"), has even come to denote the Moslem invaders.² All we can say with certainty, therefore, is that the text of the inscription refers to a campaign across the Indus.

From the concluding *pāda* of the first stanza it would seem that Chandra's arms also penetrated far south. It is stated there that "by the breezes of [his] prowess the Southern Ocean [was] even still perfumed." The expression is somewhat vague and may be nothing but a rhetorical embellishment. But if it was at all the poet's intention in this line to record a special exploit of his royal master, it can hardly be the victory in Bengal to which he has referred in the second *pāda* of the same stanza. The Gulf of Bengal would certainly be indicated as the *Eastern Ocean*.³

However this may be, it is obvious that in the first *pāda* of the third stanza the author of the inscription claims for his royal patron sole sovereignty (*aikādhirājya*) gained by his victories and enjoyed for a long time. The Chandra of the inscription, consequently, had a position—if, at least, we are to believe his eulogist—of a *chakravartin* or *saṃrāj*. This is a point to which we shall have to refer again, when discussing the question of his identity.

In 1897 a very able article was devoted to the Iron Pillar inscription by Mr. Vincent Smith. In it the author maintains that the Chandra of the inscription is to be identified with the Gupta

¹ It has been suggested that the expression *sapta mukhāni sīndhoḥ* might simply indicate the *sapta sindharah* of the Rikveda, in other words, the river Indus and its tributaries. The term *mukha* would then have to be taken in the sense not of the mouth of a river, but rather in that of a riverhead. I cannot, however, adduce any passage from Sanskrit literature to support such an explanation: except, the compound *gotāraṁ mukhānakandarah* which occurs in the first Act of Bhavabhūti's *Uttarāmacharita*. On the other hand, it is certainly remarkable to find it definitely stated by the author of the *Periplus Maris Erythraei* that the Indus has seven mouths.

² The term was adopted by the Hinduized inhabitants of Kambodia and Champa in Further India who, curiously enough, applied it to their enemies, the foreign invaders of Annam. In the Khmer language the word is written *Yvana* (modern *Yvon*). In the *Hāgarakritāgama*, the ancient chronicle of Java, which was completed in the year 1365 A.D., the word *Yavana* is also used to denote the Annamites. Vide Kern's note *Yavana als naam van Annam*, in *Bijdragen tot de taal-, land- en volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indie*, Vol. LXXII (1916), pp. 399f.

³ I need only refer to the well-known passage in the *Mānava-dharmaśāstra* (II, 22) where the boundaries of Aryavarta are defined in the following terms: "But [the tract] between these two mountains (*i.e.* Himalaya and Vindhya), which [extends] as far as the eastern and western oceans, the wise call Aryavarta". Cf. also *Kumārasambhava* I, 1.

emperor Chandragupta II. Vikramāditya who ruled about 400 A.D.¹

Dr. Fleet, as we saw, felt inclined to ascribe the Iron Pillar inscription to the first Chandragupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, of whom hitherto no epigraphical record has come to light. The palaeographical evidence afforded by the inscription does not militate against this hypothesis. The only objection, according to Dr. Fleet, would be that the record contains no reference to the Indo-Scythians, by overthrowing whom the Early Guptas must have established themselves. To this *argumentum ex silentio* we need not, perhaps, attach too great importance. But if the passage regarding the Vāhlikas could be explained as alluding to a campaign in the country of Gandhara and Bactria, the difficulty mentioned by Dr. Fleet would be removed. I cannot agree with Mr. Vincent Smith that the list of Samudragupta's conquests enumerated on the Allahabad pillar proves that the dominions of his predecessor Chandragupta I were of so moderate extent that his arms never could have penetrated into Bengal or beyond the Indus. A successful campaign is not necessarily followed by permanent occupation.

Mr. John Allan, when publishing his excellent catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasty (1914), discussed the Mihrauli inscription at some length in the introduction to his work. The conclusion he arrives at is negative. "Not only is there no real ground," he says, "for identifying Chandra with Chandragupta, but it is improbable that the inscription belongs to the dynasty at all; when the true explanation is discovered, it will probably be found that Fleet is right in emphasizing the early character of its epigraphy."²

Shortly afterwards a distinguished Indian scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Pandit Haraprasad Shastri of Calcutta, gave publicity to an entirely novel theory with regard to the mysterious monarch of the Iron Pillar. Some twenty years previously Babu Nagendra Nath Vasu had discovered an ancient rock inscription on the Susunia Hill situated in the Bānkurā District of Bengal. It is a short record in Gupta characters of an early type and is accompanied by the effigy of a flaming wheel. This wheel, as appears from the inscription, was dedicated to Vishṇu by a king who calls himself "Mahārāja Chandravarman, the son of the illustrious Mahārāja Siṅhavarman, the lord of Pushkarāṇa."³

¹ Vincent A. Smith, *The Iron Pillar of Delhi (Mihrauli)* and the Emperor Candra (Chandra) in *Journal Royal Asiatic Soc.*, 1897, pp. 1ff. Five years before Dr. Hoernle too had expressed the view that the Chandra of the Mihrauli inscription is identical with Chandragupta II. (*Indian Antiquary* for 1892, p. 43.)

² John Allan, *Catalogue of the coins of the Gupta dynasties and of Śaśāṅka, King of Gauda*, London 1914, pp. xxxviff.

³ *Proceedings of the Bengal As. Soc.*, 1895, pp. 177ff. The inscription was re-

In the course of an article on another record of the same dynasty, the Mandasor inscription of Naravarman, Pandit Haraprasad Shastri made the following observations: "Up to this day epigraphists and historians have generally regarded the Mēharaulī pillar inscription of Chandra as being a record of the early Gupta Emperor Chandragupta II. I think the Susuniā inscription and the new Mandasor inscription have put a new complexion on the state of affairs. In the Susuniā rock inscription we find a king named Chandravarman, the son of Sinhavarman, of the city of Pushkaraṇa, dedicating one of the insignia of Vishṇu, *viz.* a wheel. Pushkaraṇa or Pushkaraṇā is undoubtedly the ancient name of the city of Pōkharan in the Jodhpur State."

The Mēharaulī pillar inscription mentions a king named Chandra who had conquered the Vāhlikas after crossing the seven mouths of the Indus, and the Vaṅgas. Nowhere in a Gupta inscription do we find any mention of any conquest of the Punjab or of Afghanistan by Chandragupta II, or any other successor of Chandragupta. The Susuniā inscription supplies us with a king named Chandra with the family title Varman, who belonged to Pushkaraṇa in Western India, but had dedicated a wheel of Vishṇu close to the Vaṅga country. The Mēharaulī pillar itself is the very *dhruja*, another ensign of Vishṇu, the dedication of which is recorded in the inscription itself, and it also speaks of a conquest of Bengal. The natural conclusion is to state that Chandra of the Mēharaulī pillar inscription and Chandravarman, son of Sinhavarman of the Susuniā inscription are one and the same person. In the former record the family name was omitted in order to satisfy the need of the metre."¹

Pandit Haraprasad had the satisfaction of seeing his identification adopted by Mr. Vincent Smith.² On the contrary, it was opposed by one of his countrymen, Mr. Brijā Gopal Bhattacharyya.³ This author pointed out that Chandravarman and the other princes of his house ruled a territory of small extent and, moreover, acknowledged the supremacy of the Gupta emperors, as is evident from epigraphical records. Is it probable that such a subordinate chief should have set up a monument so conspicuous as the Iron Pillar, on which he claimed sole sovereignty for himself, or rather for his predecessor?

We entirely agree with Mr. Bhattacharyya that it is impos-

edited by Mah. Haraprasad Shastri in the *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XIII, pp. 133f No. 9.

¹ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. XII, pp. 317f. Cf. *Annual Report Archl. Survey of India*, Part I, 1915-16, p. 20.

² *Early History of India*, 3rd Ed., Oxford 1914, p. 290 n. 1.

³ B. G. Bhattacharyya, *The Meharauli Pillar Inscription at Delhi in The Indian Review*, Vol. XV (March 1914), p. 190ff.

It is to be regretted that this valuable paper is disfigured by such an incredible number of misprints.

sible to make out definitely who the Chandra of the Iron Pillar really was, but that the evidence now available is greatly in favour of his being identical with Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya.

The name Chandra may, of course, just as well be an abbreviation *Bhīmaṇḍ* of Chandragupta as of Chandravarman. In this respect both these names have equal claims. But the fact remains that Chandragupta II actually uses that abbreviation on some of his coins. In the same manner Samudragupta, Skandagupta, Puragupta and Vishnugupta use in their coin legends sometimes the shorter names Samudra, Skanda, Pura and Vishṇu. There is no reason to assume that this practice is merely due to want of space, where in several cases the dye-cutter inserts a complete verse on his coins.

Some of these metrical legends found on the coins of the Gupta emperors are of especial importance for the present question, as Mr. Bhattacharyya has very rightly pointed out. They express, in fact, the same idea which we find in the third line of the Mihrauli inscription, and this resemblance is the more remarkable as there exists also to a certain extent an agreement in words. I quote the following instances :—

Kācho gāṃ avajīṭya dīvaṃ karmabhir uttamair jayati
Kṣhītim avajīṭya sucharitair dīvaṃ jayati Vikramādityah
*Gāṃ avajīṭya sucharitaih Kumāragupto dīvaṃ jayati.*¹

With regard to numismatical evidence it may also be remembered that on some of his coins Chandragupta II, Vikramāditya distinctly calls himself Bhāgavata, i.e., a worshipper of the lord (*Bhagavat*) Viṣṇu.² It is not without cause, therefore that on his coins we find him so often figured with the Garuḍa standard (*garuḍa-dhvaṇa*) placed at his side.

In this connection it is necessary to consider whether the Iron Pillar occupies its original position or not. I entirely agree with Mr. Vincent Smith in answering this question in the negative. The inscription distinctly states that the pillar was set up on a hill or mountain (Sanskrit *giri*) named Viṣṇupada, whereas the actual position of the column is in a slight depression with rising grounds on both sides. Moreover, it stands now in the midst of and on the same level with a group of buildings belonging to the twelfth century.

The name "Viṣṇupada" indicates that the hill on which the Iron Pillar originally stood bore a sanctuary in which the object of worship was a footprint of Viṣṇu. The adoration of holy footprints either natural (*svayambhū*) or artificial is a form of worship common to Buddhists, Hindus and Moslems.³ Among

¹ John Allan, *Catalogue*, pp. 15, 35 and 67.

² *Ibidem*, p. 45.

³ Jari Charpentier, *Heilige Fussabdrücke in Indien*, *Ostasiatische Zeitschrift*, Vol. VII (1918), p. II.

the clay sealings discovered in the year 1903-04 by Dr. Bloch at Basārh, the ancient Vaiśālī, there was one belonging to a shrine of Vishṇu's footprint perhaps the same which up to the present day is worshipped at Gayā.¹ But this "Vishṇupada" is not situated on a hill and cannot, on that account, be identified with the locality mentioned on the Iron Pillar.

Mr. Bhattacharyya draws attention to a passage in the Rām-ayana (II, 68, 17-19) in which a locality is indicated as "Vishṇu's Footprint" (*Vishṇoḥ padam*). He adds the somewhat startling supposition that the place in question is to be located in the country of the Vāhlikas, i.e. in Bactria, and concludes that here the Iron Pillar was originally set up.

The passage in question describes the journey of certain messengers deputed after Daśaratha's death from Ayodhyā to Rājā-griha or Girivraja to summon Bharata home. The route described in the epic is not easy to trace, but this much is obvious that the "Footprint of Vishṇu" mentioned in it is to be sought somewhere, in Magadha and not in Bactria!

The assumption that the Iron Pillar once stood in front of some temple of Vishṇu is in full agreement with common practice. Mr. Smith thinks that it was once surmounted by a statue of that divinity. But it seems much more likely that the image it once bore was the effigy of Garuḍa, the vehicle of Vishṇu. This "lofty standard of the Lord Vishṇu" as it is called in the inscription, would then have been a Garuḍa Pillar such as is often found opposite the entrance of Vishṇu temples. A well-known instance is afforded by the famous temple of Jagannāth (*rudgo* Juggernaut) at Puri in Orissa. More familiar, perhaps, to readers of this journal is the example of the Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa temple, the principal shrine of Chamba. That this custom is a very ancient one is proved by the inscribed pillar of Besnagar in Gwalior which in the inscription is called a "Garuḍa standard" (*Garuḍa dhvaja*) erected by Heliodoros the son of Dion.²

Kaṭhāna in his Kashmir Chronicle, when describing the sacred monuments raised by the great Lalitāditya (eighth century) in his new capital, Paribhāsapura, mentions also a Garuḍa pillar which evidently belonged to one of the four Vishṇu temples enumerated in that same passage. It is interesting that here too the pillar in question is called a standard (Sanskrit *dhvaja*).³

Mr. Vincent Smith further surmises that the original site of the Iron Pillar was at or near Mathurā, on the top of a hill or

¹ *Annual Report Archl. Survey of India*, for 1903-04, part II, pp. 104 and 110.

² This interesting monument was first brought to notice by Sir John Marshall (*Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, 1909, p. 1053).

³ *Rājataranginī* IV, 199. Cf. Sir Aurel Stein's translation Vol. I, p. 142, and Vol. II, p. 303.

mount known as Vishṇupada. "The place," he says "where the hill known as Mount Vishṇu's Foot existed must have been a well-known spot frequented by Vaishṇava pilgrims, within the Gupta dominions, and not very remote from Delhi. All the conditions of such a position are satisfied by Mathurā. That city is less than eighty miles from the Quṭb Minār, was within the boundary of the Gupta empire, has many hills and mounds in or adjoining the city precincts, is one of the most ancient cities of India, and has been from time immemorial the site of famous temples of Vishṇu, and a centre of Vaishṇava worship. Inscriptions both of Chandra-gupta II, who erected the Iron Pillar, and of his son, Kumāragupta I, who inscribed it, have been found at Mathurā. For these reasons it seems to me to be extremely probable that the Iron Pillar was originally erected at Mathurā. The Katrā mound, where the magnificent temple of Vishṇu, under the name of Keśava, once stood, may very probably prove to be *Vishṇupadagiri*, the Mount of Vishṇu's Footmark, mentioned in the inscription."¹

It occurs to me that to Mr. Smith's argument here quoted there are very grave objections. It is true that Mathurā (*vulgo* Muttra) is nowadays a very important centre of the cult of Vishṇu, more particularly in his incarnation (Sanskrit *avatāra*) as Kṛishṇa. But it is a remarkable fact that among the ancient sculptures found in and around Mathurā in such abundance there are hardly any which pertain to Vishṇu worship. They are either Buddhist or Jaina and thus point to the conclusion that these were the two leading religions at Mathurā both during the period of the Kushāṇas or Indo-Scythians and in the days of the Guptas. It is also true that the district of Mathurā is rich in mounds, but these are not natural hills but tumuli marking ancient sites. They are, indeed, mounds and not mounts. The Katrā mound mentioned by Mr. Smith is such a tumulus. It is crowned by a large mosque which Aurangzeb built over the ruins of the temple of Kesab Dev destroyed by his order. But this temple, in its turn, had been raised over the remains of earlier structures which were undoubtedly Buddhist. This is proved by several inscriptions which have been found on the spot. I mention in particular an inscribed Buddha image extracted from a well by Sir Alexander Cunningham and now preserved in the Lucknow Museum. It is dated in the Gupta year 230, corresponding to A.D. 549-50.

In dealing with the above question, previous writers seem to have overlooked one important point, namely, the palaeographical evidence. The character used in the Iron Pillar inscription is the Gupta script of about the fourth century. Now, as Dr. Hoernle has pointed out, the Gupta character appears in two distinct types,

which may be called eastern and western. The oldest known instance of the eastern type is the famous eulogy of Samudragupta on the Allahabad pillar. Among those of the western type Dr. Bühler mentions in particular the Iron Pillar inscription of old Delhi.¹ Notwithstanding Bühler's great authority in matters relating to Indian palaeography, I must record my disagreement with him in this particular point. A careful study of the Iron Pillar inscription has led me to the conclusion that the "test-letters" *la*, *sha* and *ha* exhibit the eastern and not the western type of the Gupta character.²

This conclusion has a distinct bearing on the question discussed above. It affords another strong argument in favour of the theory that the Iron Pillar does not now occupy its original position. At the same time it seems to me to dispose of Mr. Vincent Smith's hypothesis regarding a removal of the pillar from Mathurā. For, had the Iron Pillar originally been erected either at Delhi or at Mathurā, in all probability the western and not the eastern type of Gupta character would have been employed.³ The use of the latter distinctly points to an eastern origin of the pillar. In other words, it seems highly probable that its real home is the ancient Magadha (modern Bihār) or some neighbouring country. Bihār was the real centre and nucleus of the Gupta empire and it seems plausible that the Gupta emperor, whoever he was, erected the pillar in memory of his father's victories in or near one of the Gupta capitals. It does not seem very likely that the original position of the pillar will ever be determined. But archaeological research in India has yielded so many startling discoveries that the case need not be regarded as altogether hopeless. Quite possibly "Mount Vishnupada" mentioned in the inscription still bears its original name, and some epigraphical document found there some day in the ruins of an early Gupta temple of Vishṇu would solve the problem definitely.

When and by whom the Iron Pillar was removed to Delhi is another question shrouded in mystery. Local tradition connects the erection of the pillar with the name of Anang Pāl, the Tunwar ruler of Delhi. May we conclude that it was Anang Pāl who

¹ G. Bühler, *Indische Palaeographie* (Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde, Band I, Heft II), p. 47.

² Dr. Hoernle too classed the Mihrauli inscription among the epigraphical records exhibiting the Eastern variety of the Gupta alphabets. (*Indian Antiquary* vol. XXI (1892), p. 43 and *Bower Manuscript* Introduction, footnote.)

³ It should be observed that the Gupta inscriptions found at Mathurā, Bilsad, Tusam, Indore and Gwalior all exhibit the western variety of the Gupta alphabet. See the maps accompanying Dr. Hoernle's article above quoted (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XXI).

⁴ In the course of his article p. 44, Dr. Hoernle remarks: "It seems clear from this fact that the North-Eastern alphabet has some peculiar connection with the imperial Gupta family."

brought the pillar to his newly founded capital? We know, at least, that the Chauhāns, the last Hindu dynasty of Delhi, were preceded by the Tunwars or Tomaras, as they are called in Sanskrit inscriptions. The tradition that Delhi was founded by these Tunwars can be traced back to the early days of Muhammadan rules.

An inscription of the Vikrama year 1384 (A.D. 1328), now preserved in the Delhi Museum of Archaeology relates the early history of Delhi in the following words:—

“There is a country, called Hariyāna, a very heaven on earth; there lies the city called Dhilli, built by the Tomaras:

“Wherein, subsequent to the Tomaras, the Chāhamāna kings, intent on protecting their subjects, established a kingdom in which all enemies of public order were struck down.

“Thereupon the Barbarian Sahābadīna (Shahāb-ud-Dīn), having burnt down the forest of hostile tribes by the fire of his valour, seized that city by force.

“Thenceforward that city has been in the possession of the Turushkas (Turks) to this day: at present Prince Śrī-Mahammada-Sāhi (Muhammad Shāh Tughlaq) rules over it.”¹

Another slightly earlier inscription of the Vikrama year 1337 (A.D. 1280 or '81), likewise preserved in the Delhi Museum, puts it briefly as follows:—

“This land of Hariyāna was first ruled by the Tomaras, then by the Chauhānas; now it is governed by Śaka (viz. Moslem) princes.”²

In this connection we may briefly note the later inscriptions on the Iron Pillar which were first discussed by General Cunningham and have recently been re-examined by Rai Bahadur, Pandit Daya Ram Sahni, of the Archaeological Survey of India.³ Among those later scriblings there are two which contain the name Anang Pāl and a date. But the longer one of these two epigraphs is comparatively modern, as it was incised in *Samvat* 1888 by order of a Maharaja, Chatar Singh Chauhān, who claimed descent from Pirthi-Rāj, the famous champion of Hinduism. The record in question, as Pandit D. R. Sahni rightly points out, possesses no historical value whatever, and the dates it assigns to Anang Pāl and Pirthi Rāj— the *Samvat* years 419 and 1151 respectively—are equally fictitious. The other Nāgarī inscription too is modern, being due to the same Maharaja Chatar Singh Chauhān. But it is engraved in continuation of a line of ancient writing which Pandit D. R. Sahni reads:

¹ *Catalogue of the Delhi Museum of Archaeology*. Calcutta, 1908, p. 36.

² *Ibidem*, p. 26.

³ Cunningham, *Archl. Survey Report*, Vol. 1, pp. 141 and 174, and D. R. Sahni, *Annual Progress Report of the Superintendent, Hindu and Buddhist monuments, Northern Circle, for the year ending 31st March, 1919*, pp. 10f.

Samrat Philli 1109 Anṅapāla vadi. This epigraph, however brief, is indeed of some historical interest in that it supplies a date for Anang Pāl, if, at least, we are justified in assuming that *Anṅapāla* is meant for *Anangapala*, one letter has been erroneously left out. The year 1109, in any case, would well suit a ruler of the Tunwar dynasty which, as we know, must have preceded that of the Chauhāns. But, for the rest, the inscription does not supply any information regarding the removal of the pillar. All we can infer from it is that in the *Samrat* year 1109 it evidently stood in Anang Pāl's capital.

It is, perhaps, not without interest to observe that an epigraphical document of Southern India affords another instance of a pillar having been removed as a war-trophy in consequence of a successful campaign. In the copperplate grant Velurpalaiyam we find it stated of the Pallava king Narasiṃha-varman that after defeating the Chālukya Pulakesin II "he took [from him] the pillar of victory standing in the centre of [the town of] Vātāpī, i.e. the modern Bādāmī."¹

Another example is, I believe, afforded by an inscribed stone pillar now standing in the hill-fort of Bijai Garh near Biana in the Bharatpur State of Rajputana. Dr. J. F. Fleet, when editing the inscription, observed: "The platform, on which the pillar stands is plainly of much more recent construction than the pillar itself; and this suggests that possibly the present position of the pillar is not its original one." It occurs to me that the epigraph itself afforded a still stronger indication that the pillar was brought from afar, as it appears to be written in a South Indian alphabet.²

In the course of the present paper I have pointed out that the Iron Pillar, as is clearly stated in the inscription, was meant, in the first place, to be "a standard" of the god Viṣṇu. It was a *dhvaja-stambha* like the inscribed column of Eran which belongs to the reign of the Gupta king Budhagupta and which in the inscription engraved on it is designated by that appellation.³ We may perhaps assume that the Iron Pillar once was crowned with the effigy of Garuḍa, the bird of Viṣṇu.

At the same time it served the purpose of a pillar of victory (*jaya-stambha*) and of a pillar of fame (*kīrti-stambha*), in that it was to commemorate Chandra's victories gained over the Vaṅgas and the Vāhlikas, and to immortalize his fame as a conqueror. We gather both from epigraphical and literary sources that exactly during the period of Gupta supremacy the erection of pillars of victory was in accordance with royal usage. Samudragupta's successor practically turned the Asoka monolith now standing at

¹ Hultzsch, *South-Indian Inscr.*, Vol. II, p. 508, verse 11.

² Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 252f.

³ Fleet, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

Allahabad, into a *jayastambha*, when he recorded on it the *digvijaya* of his predecessor.¹ The Bhitari pillar of Skandagupta served the pious purpose of recording the installation of an image of Vishṇu. But at the same time it has decidedly the character of a *jayastambha*, as it extolls that monarch's triumph over the Pushyamitras and the Huns.² The twin columns erected by Yasodharman at Mandasor are distinctly pillars of victory. They are not, it is true, denoted as such in the inscription, but their chief object was undoubtedly to be the lasting memorials of the defeat which the Hun king Mihirakula had suffered at Yasodharman's hands.³

As to literary evidence, it will suffice to quote Kālidāsa who is now generally believed to have been the court poet of some of the great rulers of the Gupta dynasty, perhaps of the very Chandragupta II surnamed Vikramāditya to whom we are inclined to ascribe the victorious recorded on the Iron Pillar. In the fourth canto of his well-known epic *Raghuramāṇsa* the poet describes in magnificent verses the *digvijaya* of Raghu, the great ancestor of the divine Rāma. It has been surmised with a high degree of probability that Kālidāsa, while writing this passage, had before his mind's eye the conquests made by his imperial patrons. Now in the course of his account of Raghu's campaign he twice makes mention of pillars of Victory. It is worthy of note that the first mention (IV. 36) is associated with a victory gained by Raghu in the Vāṅga country. The other mention (IV. 59) is merely metaphorical. The passage, at any rate, shows that the erection of such war trophies was a practice well-known in Kālidāsa's days.

But besides being a *dhvajastambha* and a *jayastambha*, the Iron Pillar had yet another significance, namely, that of a Palladium, to use an expression borrowed from the classical West. This significance, we may safely assume, it had not in the eyes of its royal founder, but in the course of time when the Pillar had become a relic of a hoary past and an object shrouded with mystery, it must have acquired that meaning in the popular estimation. This we may gather from the well-known legend which we have quoted above from the works of Sayyid Ahmad and General Cunningham. The gist of the story is that, as long as the Iron Pillar stood firmly fixed, the safety of the realm was unshaken. But from the moment that, owing to the incredulity of the king, the pillar had become loose, the fall of the empire was imminent.

The idea thus associated with the Iron Pillar of Delhi is best known from the legend of the Palladium of Troy—the ancient wooden image of Pallas which was believed to have fallen from

¹ Fleet, *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 1ff.

² Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 52ff.

³ Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 142ff.

heaven and which was carefully kept as a pledge of the safety of the city. As long as the sacred effigy of the goddess was kept within its walls, it was impossible for the Greeks to capture the city. Only after Diomedes and Odysseus had succeeded in stealing it, there was nothing which could prevent the fall of Ilium. Hence the term Palladium is used to indicate any sacred object, wherewith the popular belief associates the safety of some town or state.

We find that in historical times several towns of Hellas—Argos, Athens, Sparta and Tegea—possessed a Palladium, and in each case the icon was claimed to be the very Palladium which the Greeks had brought back from Troy. On the other hand, there was a later legend that the image stolen by Diomedes and Odysseus was nothing but a sham imitation of the real Trojan Palladium, the latter having been saved by Aeneas and taken to Italy.

The idea, in any case, of a certain sacred object embodying, as it were, the safety of a state or town is met with in Italy too. The shield of Numa was the Palladium of the Roman republic, and the Penates believed to have been brought from Troy by Aeneas had the same significance.

The idea is preserved in mediaeval Italy. It is not a little curious that in the days of Dante there still stood on the Ponte Vecchio at Florence a maimed image of Mars the ancient patron-god of the town from the time of Paganism. According to popular tradition the fate of the city was closely bound up with that quaint relic—*quella pietra scema che guarda il ponte*, as the poet calls it in his *Divina Commedia*.¹ It was only in the year 1333 that the idol together with the bridge on which it stood was swept away by a flood of the Arno.

Cunningham also refers to the well-known saying about Rome and the Coliseum. “*Quamdiu stabit Colyseus, stabit et Roma. Quando cadit Colyseus, cadit Roma*,” which the verse of Byron has rendered famous:

“While stands the Coliseum, Rome shall stand,
When falls the Coliseum, Rome shall fall.”

Bishop Heber in the above-quoted passage from his *Journey* cites the tradition attached to the coronation stone of the Scots.

It would be extremely interesting to find out whether the history of India affords any other examples of Palladium. We may say *a priori* that the idea seems to be one which must have been highly acceptable to the popular mind in this country too.

Let me end by quoting the following passage from an inscription of the tenth century A.D. in which it is said of the Chālukya king Taila II:—

¹ *Paradise*, XV, verses 145-146. Cf. also *Inferno* XIII, verses 146-147.

*kālāt khaṇḍita-Rāshtrakūṭaka-kula-śrī-vallī-jātānkuraṇ
lānau yena sukhena Karkara-raṇa-stambhau raṇapṛāṅgane.*

“Who easily cut asunder in the field of battle the two pillars of war of Karkara [Rashtrakūṭa] which were connected with the Fortune of the house of the Rāshtrakūṭakas.”¹

In the present paper I do not pretend to have solved the various questions associated with the Iron Pillar of old Delhi. It may be useful to realize how much uncertainty still prevails with regard to the history of this curious monument of the Indian capital. My main object has been to make certain suggestions which, it is hoped, will stimulate further researches.

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVI, p. 18.



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Vol. IX, Pt. II, pp. 93-178.

	PAGE
Material in Inscriptions for the History of Institutions. <i>Sir John Maynard</i>	93
History of Pūnch State. <i>J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	106
History of Rajauri State. <i>J. Hutchinson and J. Ph. Vogel</i>	131
A Note on Five Rare Old Paintings of the Moghul School. <i>Kanwar Sain</i>	161

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Material in Inscriptions for the History of Institutions.

SIR JOHN MAYNARD.

It is a commonplace that the Hindu has not been a chronicler, and, with rare exceptions, has left us nothing similar to the monkish histories of mediæval Europe or the works of the Muhammedan historians. But for certain practical purposes he has been a diligent recorder of particular facts, and has taken care, by the choice of durable material, that the record shall survive. My friend Mr. Woolner, the Principal of the Oriental College, is now editing, with a glossary, the most famous series of the Indian inscriptions, those of Asoka. We should have known little that is valuable of a ruler who came near to uniting all India in one empire, if he had not recorded his edicts on the rocks; and we should have known far less, than is now within the reach of scholars, of dynasties, chronology, geography, religious systems, taxation, land tenures, social organisation, languages and systems of writing, if there had not existed a wide-spread and long enduring practice of setting down upon stone and copper certain matters of importance to individuals and communities.

Most of these documents record gifts of land or privileges, and these are generally dated with a meticulous accuracy, with the name, dynasty, country and ancestry of the reigning king, the year of his reign and the year of the era: and a suitable imprecation upon him who resumes or violates the grant; all evident safeguards of the rights of the grantee. But there are also many which commemorate incidents of social or religious interest, the self-immolation of widows, or of faithful servants who have given their heads to the goddess to secure an heir to the master, heroic deaths in battle or the slaying of tigers and wild boars. There is one describing a plague of elephants, and the prowess of a sportsman king, who devised a chariot in the form of a lion, and, entering the forest in that shape, destroyed or captured a great number.

Another class of inscriptions describes incidents of importance in the history of kingdoms. In A.D. 1173, a certain ruler¹ sends an armed force to collect the revenues of a tract which had been recalcitrant, and a battle takes place owing to what is euphemistic-

ally described as a misunderstanding. In another case,¹ we have the record of a great migration led by a headman whose daughter had been discourteously treated. The story reminds us of Exodus. The king's army came to seize the emigrants, the river divided to let the latter pass, and they escaped after eight days' fighting. They took with them 700 carts, 3,000 sheep, and the party included the "eighteen castes and the 101 families." It is probably a typical story of the abandonment of a kingdom in which oppression was practised. Two other inscriptions,² found near Jodhpur, record the re-colonisation of a village which had been made unsafe by predatory tribes.

Masses of this material have been made available by learned editors, who give us generally a facsimile of the inscription, its transliteration and translation, with explanatory notes on the text. They are contained in many volumes, so many that I cannot give a comprehensive list of them. Thirteen volumes of the *Epigraphia Indica*, and twelve of the *Epigraphia Carnatica* are available in Lahore in the University and Public Libraries; but, of the two published volumes (Vols. I and III) of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*, apparently only one; and of the three volumes of the Southern Indian inscriptions, only the second. Other volumes could probably be obtained from the Archaeological Office Library at Simla. The inscriptions extend over many centuries from the days of Asoka or perhaps earlier, down to the 19th century of the Christian era, but the number hitherto recovered from the alluvial plains of northern India is small by comparison with those tracts in which stone is plentiful or the ravages of invasion have been less destructive. The processes of discovery, translating and editing, are still continuing, and the diligent searcher may yet be rewarded with important finds, such as the Aramaic inscription recently discovered by Sir John Marshall at Taxila. Apart from the sites which the Archaeological Department is investigating, I should guess that in the Punjab the Salt Range and the Himalayan Hill States are the most promising fields of search. The latter, and particularly Chamba, have already yielded up material of interest which has been published by Dr. Vogel.

But it is not only the discoverer, the translator and the editor of inscriptions, for whom there is work. These three bring together the material, which another order of enquirers should sift and examine in order to extract from it, with all due caution and reserve, some tentative generalisations. In this paper I have collected, from inscriptions which range generally from the 9th

¹ *Ibidem*, Vol. VII, Part I, No. 83 of Channagiri.

² *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 278.

to the 19th century of the Christian era, and from the extreme south of India to Ambala, Rajputana and Eastern Bengal, information about certain indigenous institutions. These institutions may have varied, probably did vary much, from time to time and from country to country, and only more intensive spade work in a narrower field can prepare for the solid foundations of serious history. My purpose is only to suggest; and I have assumed a certain unity, for this purpose, in the broad characteristics of certain Indian institutions in the mediæval and early modern period. If this paper should stimulate some more laborious enquirer to a more serious undertaking, its purpose will have been fulfilled.

From sources other than the inscriptions we know that certain popular bodies made laws or rules of their own. "If a people of a whole village," says Brihaspati, "or of a district, mutually execute a writing under their own signatures, among themselves for the sake of some ordinance, not contrary to the king's laws, that is called a writing of agreement"; and these agreements or ordinances, and the breaches of them, form an important feature of the law-books, down as far as the Vyavahara Mayukha in the early part of the 17th century A.D. It was the king's business, in the last resort, to enforce these ordinances, and he is exhorted by the law-givers, from Manu downwards, to enquire into the laws of castes, districts, and families and enforce them.

It is a commonplace eulogy of kings in the inscriptions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, that they protect all the castes in the exercise of their customs; but written records of these customs, or of ordinances established by popular bodies are extremely rare, if we except the measures of local or communal self-taxation to which I shall allude below. I note the following as an instance of something which comes very close to law making. About the year 1425 A.D. the Brahmans of the kingdom of Padarvidu in Southern India draw up what they describe as an agreement fixing the sacred law.¹ This determines that anyone who taxes money for the marriage of his daughter, and anyone who celebrates a marriage in which such a price has been paid, shall be liable to punishment by the king, and shall be excluded from the community of Brahmans.

This declaration of submission to the royal criminal jurisdiction, as in modern language we might describe it, has a particularly interesting bearing upon the growth of the royal power. The idea is clearly traceable that a man is only subject to

¹ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 84

the jurisdiction when he has consented to be so. The Southern Indian inscriptions, for instance, contain many formulas of the following kind. So and so, having received so many sheep, contracts to supply *ghce* for the temple lamps. "If I do not, I shall be liable to a fine If I resist, I solemnly agree to pay one piece of gold daily to the king who is then reigning."¹ Again, in an inscription² of A.D. 1229 in the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, we find certain Brahmans, in an agreement concerning their lands and the quit-rent upon them, laying it down that anyone who transgresses the terms, will incur the anger of the emperor. But an even clearer case is that of a Mewar Charter³ of 1818 A.D., cited by Colonel Tod, where it is laid down that:—"whosoever shall depart from the foregoing, the Maharana shall punish. In doing so, the fault will not be the Rana's."

It is not only the criminal jurisdiction which is the subject of bargain or agreement. In the Rajputana inscriptions we have unmistakable traces of the concession of certain rights of landed property and of taxation, made by popular bodies to rulers or other powerful persons in exchange for their protection. In A.D. 1750 the village of Dongla⁴ grants certain specified lands to Maharaja Khushal Singh, with stated privileges to receive money, grain, transit dues and two platters on every marriage. In A.D. 1758 the inhabitants of Amlee⁵ write in favour of Rawat Fattah Singh:—"The Ranawuts Sawant Singh and Sobagh Singh had Amlee in grant; but they were oppressive to the inhabitants. The inhabitants demanded the protection of the Rana and now they grant in *rekwalee* (a word which is almost equivalent to blackmail) 125 bighas as *bhum* to Fattah Singh." *Bhum*, which literally means land, consists, according to Baden Powell, in an absolute estate in a given area, which may be coupled with the condition of maintaining good order, responsibility for crime and so forth. Princes themselves desire *bhumiya* rights because they are so secure, and are unaffected even by deposition and the loss of the royal status. The interesting thing is to find these highly valued rights within the gift, not of the prince but of a popular body.

The *Epigraphia Carnatica* contain records of a few apparently similar grants. Thus, about 480 A.D., we find the people of Nandiyala recording⁶ the grant to a king's younger brother of

¹ *Ibidem*, Vol. I, pp. 114-115.

² *Epigraph. Carn.*, Vol. V, No. 128 of Arsikere.

³ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*. By Lt. Colonel Tod. Published Calcutta, 1896, Vol. I, p. 178.

⁴ *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*, Vol. I, p. 171.

⁵ *Ibidem*.

⁶ *Epigraph. Carn.*, Vol. VI, No. 59 of Chikmagalur.

a share in a particular tract by way of compensation for the loss of a kingdom. In 1184 A.D., in the neighbourhood of Arsikere,¹ "the gavares, masters and settis who were leading men in the 18 great cities of the world, in Velapura and the 64 holy places," conferred on one Madhava (who was a royal inspector) "the rank of chief master of the city of the three worlds." And in 1382 A.D., in what is now the Belur Taluq, the merchants of a certain corporation, together with various dependent corporations and all the Holiyas of 27 towns where fairs were established, gave² to the hereditary minister of King Harihara the office of prithvi-settitana, or mayoralty of the earth, and granted to him a number of dues including those on drugs, piece-goods, grains, animals and female slaves; apparently in consideration of his protection. As he was "the officer for superintendence of the customs of over 56 countries," the merchants doubtless had good reasons for desiring him as a protector.

I trust my readers will acquit me of leading them away from the firm foundation of stone and copper to the doubtful ground of speculation, if I venture at this point to remind them of a fact which to my mind has a very close connection with these historical instances of the concession of jurisdiction by popular bodies. This is the frequency of the tradition that a ruler is invited to power by a people having no organised government of a monarchical kind and conscious of the weakness of divided counsels. As an instance out of many I will cite Tod's account of the origin of the State of Bikanir. The pastoral Jats of the Godarra section surrendered to Bika, Rahtor, the right to levy *dhooa*, or a hearth-tax of one rupee per house, and a land-tax of two rupees per 100 bighas, on condition that he would protect them against enemies and respect their rights. He bound himself to receive the *tika* of inauguration from the hands of the descendants of the elders of the clan, and that the *gad*i should be deemed vacant till such rite was administered.

Measures imposing new taxes, or assigning the proceeds of old ones, recur in the inscriptions with remarkable frequency. Sometimes, but by no means always, the royal officers take part in these acts and confirm them by their authority. In 882 A.D., we find the horse-dealers at Pehowa, in what is now the Karnal district of the Punjab, taxing themselves and their customers for a religious purpose.³ There is a similar grant of taxes on horses and salt by traders and horse-dealers in what is now the Jaipur State.⁴ A great assemblage of different castes and trades meeting

¹ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, No. 79 of Arsikere.

² *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Part I, No. 75 of Belur Taluk.

³ *Epigraphiæ Indica*, Vol. I, p. 185.

⁴ *Ibidem*, Vol. II, p. 130.

in A.D. 1161, somewhere in the Bijapur District of Kanara, imposes contributions¹ on all its constituent elements, so much oil from the oil-pressers, so much cloth from the weavers, so much fruit from the toddy-drawers, so many baskets from the basket-makers and mat-makers, with a cash impost on every marriage; and the record ends with a mandate to the people of the district and to the 300 of the caste of toddy-drawers to preserve this act of religion. In A.D. 1775, according to an inscription² of the Yelandur Jagir in the Carnatic, the eighteen castes agree to an addition, for religious purposes, to the land-tax and other taxes payable by them: but, in this case, the act is declared to be done with the consent of the authorities.

Dr. Bühler observes that such self-imposed taxes for religious or charitable purposes are by no means uncommon in modern India; and cites the case of a tax on cotton merchants which was spent on education. Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, once Colonisation Officer in the Lower Chenab Colony furnished me with a number of modern instances of the practice from the Lyallpur district of the Punjab and it has an interesting and important bearing upon some modern problems, particularly in connection with popular education.

It is not always themselves that the communal or local corporations tax. In the eleventh century A.D. the "middle-aged citizens" of a town, somewhere near Mamallapuram in Southern India, determine the payments to be made by the non-landowners of the place, traders and hired labourers, with a fine for those "who do not submit to this agreement."³ In A.D. 1700, at Belur in the Carnatic, the merchants and town-mayor and temple priests inform the washerman caste as follows⁴:—"The tax for your caste is, for a virgin one varaha, for a widow four varaha, the gold to be given as dowry," (or query, on the occasion of a marriage?). In A.D. 1318, at Arsikere in the Carnatic, certain Brahmans engage to defray taxes imposed by the palace, and add:—"That we should pay *taxes imposed by the village*, seems not to be the custom."⁵ This agreement referred to land transferred to Brahmans by an owner who could not pay his land revenue.

From sources outside the inscriptions we know of the judicial authority exercised by many popular bodies over their members. Says the law-giver Brihaspati—"Forest dwellers should be

¹ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, p. 23.

² *Epigraph. Carn.*, Vol. IV, No. 4, of the Yelandur Jagir.

³ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. I, p. 65. An Inscription of the eleventh century A.D.

⁴ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Pt I, No. 6 of Belur.

⁵ *Ibidem*, Vol. V, Pt. I, No. 113 of Arsikere.

allowed to exercise jurisdiction in the jungle; warriors in the camp; merchants in the caravan; farmers, craftsmen, artisans, money-lenders, guilds, dancers, people who follow a particular sect, *and robbers*, should be allowed to give their own decisions Families, guilds, caste-unions, who are authorised by the king, ought to decide judicial cases, with the exception of those dealing with deeds of violence” Besides these tribunals of castes and professions, we hear in the law-books of local tribunals, which were evidently composed of more castes than one.

Brihaspati even goes so far as to formulate a regular law of appeal, lying from the family to the guild, from the guild to the local assembly, from the local assembly to the king's judges; and he describes the penalties as consisting of admonition, reproof and excommunication, and the jurisdiction as specially connected with transgressions against the discipline and special customs of the family or tribe.

The inscriptions do not contain numerous allusions to judicial functions: but some of them indicate a jurisdiction extending far beyond the theory of the law-books. About 1131 A.D., we find a whole town in the Carnatic sentencing the murderer of his son to be trampled by an elephant.¹ In the charter² granted in A.D. 1800, to the printers of calico and inhabitants of the town of great Akola in Mewar, who had deserted their homes by reason of oppression, one of the Maharana's promises is that all crimes committed within the jurisdiction of Akola shall be tried by its inhabitants, who will sit in justice on the offender and fine him according to his faults. There is a Southern Indian inscription³ in which a village appears to waive a criminal jurisdiction of its own in favour of the temple authorities. “If a crime or sin becomes public, the God alone shall punish the inhabitants of this village for it We the assembly agree to pay a fine if we fail in this through indifference.” A Committee for “the supervision of justice in the twelve streets,” sitting with a personage described as the arbitrator, is mentioned in a Brahman village of Southern India, in an inscription of A.D. 922, which describes the local institution in great detail.⁴ Another of A.D. 940-956 records how the Assembly of a village in the Tamil country decided to dispose of certain lands and to fine any person who produced fictitious deeds of title to the same, as well as its own “great men” who might fail by apathy to remove the obstacles put in the way of the proposed disposition of the property.

¹ *Ibidem*, Vol. VIII, No. 80.

² *Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan*; edition above cited, Vol. I, p. 174.

³ *South Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. III, Part I, p. 20.

⁴ *Archæological Survey of India*. Annual Report for 1904-05, pp. 142-145.

From the ninth to the thirteenth century A.D. there existed, in the neighbourhood of Sikarpur in the Carnatic, an interesting body known as the 500 Swamis of Ayyavole.¹ They were religious by origin and are described as consecrating priests; but, like some others of that class, they took to business as merchants and carriers, and they exercised extensive judicial and administrative functions. The jurisdiction is almost like a medieval forerunner of the fateful cession to the East India Company. In a grant of 1150 A.D. the functions are described in the following language: "In the case of a sack which bursts, an ass which runs away laden with grain, a wounded and fallen body, a cart that has been robbed, a load that has been lifted, a bar of gold that has been seized, a tax that has been evaded, a cry of looting, an assembly connected with caste customs, a bargain that has been made—they are not men to fail gambling they will not allow." In this grant, the 500 Swamis dispose, among other things, of dues from foreign and local merchants. The doings of this highly privileged body are recorded in inscriptions which extend over a considerable period of time.

This singular precedent for the firman which conferred the Diwani upon the East India Company does not stand alone in the inscriptions. The Syrian Christians of a district in Travancore possess a plate,² believed to date from the 14th century A.D., which confers a title of honour with many jurisdictions and privileges. "We gave him the right of festive clothing, house pillars, the income that accrues, the export trade, monopoly of trade in the four quarters We also gave the oil-mongers and the five classes of artisans as his slaves. We also gave the brokerage on articles that may be measured or weighed" (a sort of *dharat* or octroi) "and also the customs levied on these articles We gave this as property to him and to his children's children in due succession."

A Jew, named Joseph, received, apparently on behalf of his community, similar concessions in Cochin.³ He was to "preserve the proceeds of the customs duty as they were collected day by day," and "to receive the landlord's portion of the rent on land." "If any injustice be done to them, they may withhold the customs and the tax on balances and remedy themselves the injury done to them. Should they themselves commit a crime, they are them-

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VIII, p. 287.

² *Epigraph. Carn.*, Vol. VII, pt. I, No. 118 of *Sikarpur*.

³ *Epigraph. Carn.*, Vol. VIII, No. 268 of *Sorab*, and Vol. XI, No. 105 of *Davanagere*.

⁴ *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IV, pp. 290-297.

⁵ For another similar case, see *Epigraph. Ind.* Vol. III, p. 49.

selves to have the investigation of it,"—a clause which goes beyond the *Dirani* and extends to the *Faujdar* authority also.

Beside exercising a civil and sometimes also a criminal jurisdiction, taxing themselves and their inferiors, and assigning the proceeds of taxation for religious and other purposes, our manifold and multiform corporations figure constantly as the managers of the landed estate. I deliberately call them managers, because the word "proprietor" has very misleading associations, and it is generally plain enough that the right of permanent occupancy (often carrying with it a right to sell, mortgage or exchange) belonged to individuals. Sometimes the language of the grant implies that the "great assembly of the village" or "the great men," or whatever other title may be assigned to the organ of the communal body, are themselves the donors. For instance, in the 29th year of the Cola King Rajaraja I. the citizens of a town, give for temple purposes "land which is not divided into house sites and which is the common property of the city." On the other hand, the editor¹ of a number of copper plate grants of the Faridpur district of Eastern Bengal, in the time of Dharmaditya notes that the purchaser of land from a private owner applied to the district government and to the Mahattaras, or leading men of the village; and that the assent of the latter was evidently required. These leading men, judging from the variety and character of their names, were of different castes. In one of the plates, apparently affecting village common, it is noted that the common folk also were informed. It seems clear that their assent was not essential to the gift.

In the eleventh century A.D., we find the "middle-aged citizens," effecting a partition of land and trees, and arranging that the trees on the causeways between the rice fields shall remain common. In another Southern Indian inscription, the members of two village assemblies agree on the amalgamation of their estates, for the convenience of a shrine to which the king had granted the revenue of their lands. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, in the Arsikere taluq of the Carnatic, "the people of the place" together with "the great senior merchant," and certain others, apparently headmen and local functionaries, decide a boundary dispute between themselves and an adjoining Agrahara. In another Southern Indian Inscription, about 200 years later, "all the people of the Nad (or district) thirty" decide a similar dispute with a neighbouring Mahant. The management of irrigation, of charitable gifts and bequests, of the common fund for village expenses, of common property or proprietary rights,

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XXXIX, July 1910, p. 214

for instance the right to part of the out turn of the village looms and to unpaid labour from village menials, *arrangements for the supplies of officials* on tour and for the furnishing of watchmen to a temple, are all functions of the village or communal bodies which figure in the inscriptions. There are ominous references to the talking which went on. In fact, "eloquent at assemblies" is an otiose epithet in the eulogies of the worthy citizens.

Communal bodies, in the Southern India of the Cola kings, frequently undertake obligations in connection with grants to temples. Sometimes the inscriptions record that they have received money for the land and for the redemption of the taxes upon it, and they allot land accordingly. Sometimes they receive sheep, and agree in return, to supply ghee for the temple lamps. Sometimes they receive payment in the form of exemption from a tax. Sometimes money is deposited with the shrine of Chandessvara, the being in whose name the money affairs of temples are generally conducted. The village assembly borrows this money from the shrine, engaging to pay interest to the temple in the form of rice or money. In a Nasik Cave Inscription, recorded in Volume VIII of the *Epigraphia Indica*, we have an endowment invested with guilds (the weavers' guild being specially mentioned)—which undertake to pay interest to provide for the donor's objects. There must have been great confidence in the permanence and solvency of these guilds. Plainly they enjoyed good credit and were in the habit of holding treasure for common purposes. From elsewhere we gather that some guilds had a private coinage, described by Buhler as guild tokens.

The bodies whose common affairs are thus conducted, include trade guilds and groups of trade guilds, whole villages, whole towns, the citizens of a particular bazar or street, and whole districts. The executive assemblies have a bewildering variety of names, and in the Southern Indian Inscriptions there is a preference for arithmetical designations, the 60 husbandmen, the 500 Brahmans, the Belvola 300, the 500 Mahajans, the Siharakhi 12, and so forth. In the inscriptions of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, reference to an assembly, Sabha or Mahasabha, is rare; the authority being described by some simpler title, as "all the subjects and farmers," "the elders of the village," "the fifty householders of the village and the chief farmers," and so forth. How these bodies were constituted we can for the most part only guess. But two inscriptions¹ engraved on the wall of a temple in the 10th century A.D., give such an interesting picture of the methods of selection in a particular Brahman settlement, that I make no apology for a detailed account of them.

¹ *Archæological Survey of India*. Annual report, 1904-05, pp. 131-145.

This settlement was evidently a cantankerous one, and the Cola king, Parantaka I, who began to rule in A.D. 907-08 and conquered Madura, twice sent a royal officer to sit with the popular assembly and settle its constitution. On the first occasion property, age, and educational qualifications were determined for the candidates. A candidate must own more than a veli of tax-paying land, must be living in a house built on his own site, must be below the age of 60 and above 30, be known to be learned in the Vedas and Shastras and to be conversant with business, *must possess honest earnings and have a pure mind*. Our modern Municipal Manuals do not go into the question of honest earnings and a pure mind. Otherwise there is much here that recalls those admirable compendia. Further, a candidate must not have sat on any of the committees for the preceding three years (a provision redolent of the true democratic jealousy), and must not be a close relation of any of the great men just retired from membership.

The town is divided into thirty wards. The residents assemble and write down the names of qualified candidates on tickets, which are put into a vessel. An innocent boy then draws the name out of the vessel at random, and the fortunate candidates become members of the Annual Committee, the Garden Committee, the Tank Committee, the Pancavara (apparently judicial) Committee, and the Gold Committee (dealing either with finance, or with money deposited in the local temples, I presume).

On the second occasion the settlement made by the royal officer with the assembly excludes from candidature any committee-man who has failed to give accounts, various other offenders, and the relatives of such persons. A more formal procedure is prescribed for the drawing of the lots: and reference is made to an additional Committee, called the Committee for the supervision of justice in the twelve streets.

I have nowhere in the inscriptions found a trace of any closer approach to election, properly so called, than in this nomination of the candidates for selection by lot. It is, however, stated by Colonel Tod¹ that the Chohutias, or assessors of justice, who assist the Nagar Seth or chief magistrate in the administration of justice in Rajputana, are elected by their fellow townsmen for each town and village: and, in his description of Jhalra Patan, it appears that each trade is represented by its own Chohutia, who presents a *nazar* on its behalf. Whether the election of which he speaks was election in the modern sense, or that method of choice by common acclamation which is often found in modern India, does

not appear, but all the indications appear to be in favour of the latter.

We see then, scattered over 10 or more centuries in time, and over a great portion of the Indian continent, but far more numerous in the peninsula and in the south than in the plains of the north, the persistently recurring evidences, graven upon stone and copper, and for the most part quite above the suspicion of fabrication, of a certain type of institution. There may be many more yet to be found; and there is certainly yet much work for the investigator in the extraction of their full historical significance. The institution which they disclose to us is a body taking many forms, sometimes territorial, sometimes a guild or a group of guilds or a caste or a group of castes, but always exercising certain functions of self-government, subordinate to the royal authority. Sometimes such a body makes concessions of land or the right to take specified taxes to a ruler, in return for his protection: as though we had before us examples of the growth of royal power by consent or by social contract. Oftener it is the ruler who makes concessions, and now and then these concessions look like dangerous surrenders of sovereign power, and suggest that the Moghals in their later days of weakness acted upon earlier precedent of the facile surrender of authority. The liberty of association and the grant of privileges and jurisdictions were carried very far, but in these records we naturally find what was given rather than what was withheld or resumed.

These bodies often tax themselves, and their likes, and sometimes others. They occasionally lay down, or anyhow state, the law. They exercise an extensive jurisdiction in what we should now term civil disputes, and a narrower criminal jurisdiction with powers which very rarely extend beyond those of admonition and fine. In certain of their forms they manage landed estate, arrange partitions, settle boundaries with adjoining authorities, determine questions of irrigation and deal with common funds, charitable gifts, the supply of commodities to officials on tour (the eternally surviving problem of *rasad rasani*) and the provision of certain requirements of religious institutions. Some of the guilds are evidently in the habit of holding treasure for common purposes, and it is a usual practice to place investments in their hands. There is no trace of election in the modern sense, as a process by which the formally recorded votes of a majority determine the choice between rival candidates: but there is a single highly interesting case in which the candidates for office in a Brahman settlement depend for their nomination upon the residents of the wards, and are thereafter selected by lot from among the whole body of nominees. Often the members of the governing body are

described by names which suggest that they are the heads of particular castes or of leading families. The impression made upon me by the inscriptions which I have studied is that the system was ordinarily oligarchical.

I have given you with the help of a little lamp a glimpse of a great mine. The dark places are full of possibilities, and the diligent seeker may light upon the gem.

History of Pūnch State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

Pūnch State, in ancient times, was situated in the valleys of the Pūnch Tohi and its tributaries. It was bounded on the north by the Pir Panjāl Range, on the west by the Jehlam, on the south probably by the plains and on the east by Rājauri (Rājapurī). The original name of the State was Parṇotsa, of which Pūnch is a derivation, and the original capital was at Lohara, the present Lohrin to the north-east of the town of Pūnch. Like Rājapurī, the State was situated within the hill tract called Dārvābhisāra, lying between the Jehlam and the Chīnāb, and was probably the first principality to be founded in that tract. The earliest reference to the State is in the travels of the Chinese Pilgrim, Hiuen Tsiang, A.D. 633.¹ At that period Parṇotsa seems to have been the name by which the whole tract was known, and it was then subject to Kāshmir and had no king of its own. He calls it Pun-nu-tso, and placed it at 700 *li*, or 117 miles to the south-west of Kāshmir. Its distance from Kāshmir, measured on the map, is 75 miles *via* Bāramula and Urī, which is equal to about 100 miles of actual road distance.

The name, Parṇotsa, in its abbreviated form, has many variants. Cunningham uses Punacha or Punach; by the Kashmiris it is called Punats; Moorcroft spells the name Prunch or Pruntz. General Court also has Prunch, but it is called Punje by Mirza Mogal Beg, who was Wilford's surveyor, and Pūnch by Vigne.

Like Rājapurī the whole tract in ancient times was inhabited by the great Khasha tribe, which held the outer hills from the river Jehlam to the Banihāl Pass. The descendants of these tribes at the present day are probably the Khakhas of the lower Jehlam valley and the outer hills.² The Khashas are often referred to in the Rājataranṅī and the Rājas of Rājapurī and Lohara were called "lords of the Khashas." In later times the southern section of Dārvābhisāra was conquered by the Chibhs, who founded the States of Bhimbar and Kari Kariālī. From them the whole tract is now called Chibhān or Chibhāl.

Hiuen Tsiang, on his journey from Kāshmir to the plains of

¹ *Sī-yu-kī* (Transl. Beal), Vol. I, p. 163.

² In former times the letters *s* and *sh*, initial and medial, were pronounced as *kh* as among the Gaddis of Chamba at the present time.

India, passed through Parnotsa and Rājapurī and on to Sākala (Siālkot), probably by Aknūr, over a road still in use. Of Parnotsa he writes as follows:—"This kingdom is about 2,000 *li* in circuit, with many mountains and river courses, so that the arable land is very contracted. The seed is sown, however, at regular intervals and there are a quantity of flowers and fruits. There are many sugar-canes but no grapes. Amalas, Udumbaras, Mochas, etc., flourish and are grown in large quantities, like woods; they are prized on account of their taste. The climate is warm and damp. The people are brave. They wear ordinarily cotton clothing. The disposition of the people is true and upright; they are Buddhists. There are five *saṅghārāmas*, mostly deserted. There is no independent ruler, the country being tributary to Kāshmir. To the north of the chief town is a *saṅghārāma* with a few priests. Here there is a *stūpa*, which is celebrated for its miracles. Going south-east from this 400 *li* or so, we come to the kingdom of Ho-lo-she-pu-lo (Rājapuri)."

Hiuen Tsiang probably left the Kāshmir valley by the Toṣa-maidān Pass or a pass near it. Of his journey he writes, as taking him "south-west, and crossing some mountains and traversing many precipices. Going 700 *li* or so we come to the country Pun-nu-tso (Punach)." On this Cunningham¹ remarks: "Hiuen Tsiang describes Punach as 2,000 *li*, or 333 miles, in circuit, which is just about twice its actual size. On the west it is bounded by the Jehlam, on the north by the Pir Panjal Range, and on the east and south-east by the small State of Rajaori. But these limits, which include the petty state of Kotali, are not more than 170 miles in circuit; and even if the tract at the source of the Punach river be included, the frontier will not be more than 200 miles in circuit. But as the distances in the mountain districts were most probably estimated by the lengths of the roads, the circuit of the frontier line may be taken as equivalent to about 300 miles in road distance."

It is probable that at that early period the district of Parnotsa included Kotali and extended down to the plains, and we must also bear in mind that the Chinese pilgrims are inclined to over-estimate distances whenever they are dealing with difficult and hilly country.

The next historical reference to Parnotsa is in the Rājatar-aṅgī in the reign of Lalitāditya Mukṭapīḍa (A.D. 699-736). Parnotsa is there said to have been founded by that king, who "when receiving fruit (*phala*) constructed Phalapura; when taking a leaf (*parṇa*) Parnotsa, and while at play (*Kṛīḍan*) the *vihāra* of

¹ *Ancient Geography of India* (London, 1871), pp. 128 f.

Kṛīḍavāma).” (Rājatarāṅg. IV, 181.) The reference in Hiuen Tsiang’s *Travels*, however, proves that Parnotsa was older than the time of Lalitāditya, though still subject to Kāshmir in his reign as it had been at an earlier period.

But while Parnotsa seems to have been the name of the tract, and the principal place in early times, it was not the original capital of the State. In the Rājatarāṅgīnī we find frequent references to a hill tract called Lohara, the first of these being in the reign of Lalitāditya (A.D. 700). (Rājatarāṅg. IV, 177), where the name is applied to the tract. Wilson seems to have been the first among modern writers to refer to the locality in his essay on the *Hindu History of Kashmīr* (p. 47), and he identifies it with Lahore. As Lohara is frequently referred to by Kalhaṇa as a hill tract, containing a fortress in close proximity to Kāshmir, this identification is manifestly wrong. It was in 1892 that Sir Aurel Stein undertook a tour in the mountains for the express purpose of identifying the locality, and in this he was successful. In the head waters of the Punch Tohi he found a tract named Loharan (Loran on the maps), which answers fully to the description of ancient Lohara. An account of this identification was given in a paper read before the Royal Asiatic Society in 1893. There is also an interesting note from Sir Aurel Stein’s pen in the Rājatarāṅgīnī (Vol. II, p. 293, *et seq.*), from which we give the following extract:—“Loharin (marked as Loran on the maps) comprises the well-populated and fertile mountain district formed by the valleys of the streams which drain the southern slopes of the Pir-Pantāl Range, between the Taṭakūṭī Peak and the Toṣa-Maidān Pass. The Loharin river, which is formed by these streams, receives, at Maṇḍī, the stream of the Gājri Valley which adjoins Loharin to the north-west. Some eight miles further down it flows into the Sūran river with which together it forms the Tohi (Tauṣi) of Prūts.”

On a ridge near the centre of this valley was situated the strong fortress of Loharakoṭṭa, or Lohkot, which was the original capital of the State and the place of residence of the Rājas. This fort is referred to by Alberuni (A.D. 1017–31), and other Mohamadan historians, as well as in the Rājatarāṅgīnī, and it twice successfully withstood a siege by Maḥmūd of Ghaznī. It must, therefore, have been built before his invasion of India.

Though the original name of the tract was probably Parnotsa, we know from the Rājatarāṅgīnī that the name of the State was Lohara, from its foundation till the reign of Muhammad Shāh of Kāshmir (A.D. 1539), and probably down to the time of Akbar’s conquest of Kashmir in A.D. 1586. Muhammad Shāh is stated to have come to Lohara about A.D. 1530, and “exactred revenues

and other taxes from towns like the former sovereigns of the country." The Hindu dynasty must, therefore, have come to an end at an earlier date. We may conclude that the district of Lohara was the original nucleus of the State, and the strong fort the residence of the Founder as it was of his successors.

The Lohara State¹ was founded about A.D. 830 by Nara, who was probably a local petty chief of the Khasha tribe. He is first mentioned in the reign of Utpalapīḍa of Kashmīr (A.D. 850-55), in the following reference: "Nara and other merchants who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages ruled Dārvābhīśāra and the neighbouring regions setting up their own thrones." This sentence as a whole conveys the impression that Nara, and others like him, were petty chiefs like the Rānas and Thākurs of the Eastern hills, each ruling over a small area and all under the supremacy of Kashmīr. Nara may have been one of the more powerful among these petty rulers, for he succeeded in extending his authority over some of his neighbours and thus founded the Lohara State.

We are fortunate in having the genealogical tree of the Lohara Rājas, in succession to Nara, for three hundred years. About A.D. 950, a marriage alliance took place between the royal lines of Lohara and Kashmīr, Diddā, a Lohara princess, being married to Kshemagupta. On her husband's death she disposed of her son and grandsons, and assumed full power and ruled in her own name. Before her death she adopted her younger brother's son as heir-apparent and he succeeded to the throne. During the reign of Harshadeva of Kashmīr (A.D. 1089-1101), a revolt took place and suspicion having fallen upon two young princes of the Lohara family they fled from Kashmīr: the elder brother, Uchchala, taking refuge in Rājapuri, where he was hospitably received by Somapala, the Rāja of the State. One of the latter's officials, however, having been bribed by Harshadeva, planned to murder Uchchala while on a visit to his house. Of this plot Somapala was cognisant and the young prince, enraged at this perfidy, forced his way into the Rāja's presence and addressed him as follows:—"Long ago there lived a king of Dārvābhīśāra. Nara, a descendant of Bhāradvāja, his son was Naravāhana, who begot Phulla. The latter begot Sātavāhana, from him sprung Canda, his son was Candarāja, who also had two sons, called Gopāla and Siṃharāja. Siṃharāja, who had many sons, gave his daughter, Diddā, to King Kshemagupta in marriage. She, being left without a husband or male children, placed Saṃgrāmarāja, the son of her brother, Udayarāja, on the throne (of Kashmīr). Another brother of hers,

¹ *Rajatarang.*, Trans. Stein, IV, 712.

² *Rajast.*, Stein, VII, 1248-56.

Kāntirāja, begot Jassarāja. Saṅgrāma[rāja] was the father of Ananta; Jassa[rāja] that of Tauvaṅga and Guṅga. From Ananta was born King Kalaśa and from Guṅga [was born] Malla. From Kalaśa was born Harṣadeva and the rest and then we from Malla. Then when this is the pedigree how can foolish persons ask: Is this one (of the princes of Kashmir). (*Rajat. vii.*, 1282-87.)

It will be noted that in the above reference Nara is called 'the king of Dārvābhisāra.' This may be mere hyperbole, but it is possible that he had acquired a certain amount of supremacy over a large portion of territory, and was acknowledged as suzerain. This at least is certain that he was the ancestor of the Lohara ruling family, and the founder of the State. Lohara was thus an older State than Rājapuri, and may have included some of the territory afterwards merged in that State.

We may assume that Nara ruled the State till about A.D. 870 and was succeeded by his son, Naravāhana, who ruled till about A.D. 890. He was in power in the reign of Śankara-varman of Kashmir, who is said to have marched through his territory on an expedition against Gurjara (Gujrat or the Central Punjab). The Rāja did not await his coming, for we read that the shouts of the Kashmir army "were heard, not by the troops of the lord of Dārvābhisāra, but by the mountain gorges, in which that frightened [ruler] had taken refuge." At a later time, perhaps on the return march from the plains, Naravāhana fell into his hands, and was slain at night together with his followers, on a suspicion of treachery, though as Kalhana states he cherished no evil intent against the king of Kashmir.¹

Naravāhana was succeeded by his son, Phulla, and he by Śālavāhana, but of them we know nothing. After them came Chanda and Chandarāja, who were followed by Siṃharāja about A.D. 950. Siṃharāja had, as one of his queens, the daughter of Bhīma Shāhi, the ruler of Uḍabhāṇḍa (Ohind), and her daughter, Diddā, was married to Kshemagupta of Kashmir, about A.D. 950. This marriage had important results in the political relations of Lohara and Kashmir. On Kshemagupta's death, in A.D. 958, his son Abhimanyu II, a minor, came to the throne under the guardianship of Queen Diddā. After disposing of her son and grandsons she claimed full power, and from A.D. 980 ruled Kāshmir in her own name. Towards the end of her life, she adopted as her successor, Saṅgrāmarāja, a younger son of her brother, Udayarāja, who followed her father, Siṃharāja, as ruler of Lohara; and he was acknowledged as Yuvarāja or heir-

¹ *Rajat.*, V. 141 and 209.

apparent. Queen Diddā died in A.D. 1003. Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara, died about A.D. 1000, and was succeeded by his elder son, Vigraharāja, who in Diddā's lifetime made an attempt to secure the throne of Kashmīr, probably regarding himself as having a better claim than his younger brother. He was, however, defeated and compelled to retire to Lohara.

It is now necessary to make a digression in order to elucidate the sequence of events at that momentous period. The Hindu Shāhi dynasty of kings then ruled the Punjab. They had displaced the Turki Shāhi dynasty in Kabul about A.D. 870 and soon afterwards, probably about A.D. 880-90, they were compelled to remove the seat of government from Kabul to Ohind (Udabāṇḍapura), on the Indus, in consequence of the increasing pressure of the Muhammadan advance from the West. But though it had ceased to be the capital, Kabul and a large part of Afghanistan still remained a portion of the Shāhi kingdom, under a governor, till about the latter part of the tenth century when it was finally added to the kingdom of Ghaznī.

Jaipāl of Ohind¹ succeeded his father, Bhīmpāl in A.D. 962, and his reign was marked by constant struggles with the invaders. Early in his reign, Udabāṇḍapura had become unsafe as the residence of the ruler and about A.D. 970 the seat of government was transferred to Lahore. Jaipāl's struggles with the Muhammadans were to the west of the Indus, and in all of them he seems to have met with defeat. His last encounter was with Maḥmūd in A.D. 1002, on the plains of Peshawar, and there he was taken prisoner with many of his officers. On being liberated he abdicated in favour of his son, Anandpāl, and ascended the funeral pyre.

From Anandpāl's reign,² if not earlier, Lohara and Kāshmir were brought into close relations with the Shāhi kingdom. In A.D. 1005, Maḥmūd again advanced towards the Indus, and was opposed by Anandpāl on the Peshawar plain. To his support came contingents from all parts of northern India, and among others we may safely include Lohara and Kashmīr. These countries were then, as already noted, respectively under the ruler of Vigraharāja and his brother, Sangrāmarāja.

On his defeat, Anandpāl fled with his army to the Jehlam, pursued by the Muhammadans, and from there he retired into the outer hills, most probably up the valley of the Punch Tohi, towards Lohara. His army was pursued as far as Sodhrā on the Chīnāb, which was then the ferry on the main line of road to the

¹ *Tarikh-i Yāmīnī*, Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 24ff. and Appendix, p. 438.

² *Ibidem*, Vol. II, pp. 33-412-444, and Ferishta, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 40ff. and 46-7.

south. In A.D. 1008-09, Anandpāl again opposed Mahmūd on the Indus and was defeated, and his army completely routed. Most likely on this occasion also he escaped into the outer hills near Lohara, while Mahmūd continued his advance to Nagarkott (Kāngra). Again in A.D. 1013, Mahmūd crossed the Indus with the intention of invading India. By this time the country to the west of the Indus was all under Muhammadan rule. Anandpāl was then dead and had been succeeded by his son, Trilochanapāl, whose name in the Muhammadan histories has many variants.

Being defeated on the plains, Trilochanapāl seems to have retreated into the hills up the valley of the Punch Tohi, pursued by Mahmūd. Help had been asked from Kashmīr and a strong contingent was despatched under Tunga, the Commander-in-chief, which crossed the Pir Panjāl and descended the Tohi Valley, probably to a point not far from Jehlam, where the army of Trilochanapāl was encamped. There can be little doubt that a contingent from Lohara also formed part of the force. The battle that was fought soon after Tunga's arrival, and which is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*, probably took place near the junction of the Tohi with the Jehlam, and it crushed the Shāhi power for ever.

The account of the battle¹ is so interesting that we give it in full. 'In the month of Mārgaśīrsha [Jan. and Feb.] the king [of Kashmīr] despatched him [Tunga] to the country of the illustrious Shāhi, Trilochanapāla, who had asked for help. A large army, attended by many Rājaputras [royal kinsmen], chief councillors, feudal chiefs, and others [of rank], capable of making the earth shake, followed him. When he, together with his son, had been hospitably received by the Shāhi, who had gone to meet him, and he had been in that land for five or six days, the Shāhi noticed that they gave no thought to night-watches, the posting of scouts, to military exercises and other [preparations] proper for an attack, and spoke thus to Tunga, who was intoxicated [with self-confidence]: 'Until you have become acquainted with the Turushka warfare, you should post yourself on the scarp of this hill, [keeping] idle and inactive against your desire.' This good counsel of Trilochana he in his pride did not accept, but remained, together with his troops, [on the plain] eagerly looking out for battle. Then he crossed thence with a rather small force to the other bank of the Taushi (Tohi) and defeated a corps which Hammira had sent on a reconnaissance. Though he was filled thereat with pride, the Shāhi, experienced in war, repeated again and again the same advice he had given before. Blinded by

¹ *Rajat.*, V. II, pp. 47-69.

his desire for battle he did not accept the Shāhi's counsel. Advice is of no avail for those whose destruction is near."

"In the morning then came in fury and in full battle array the leader of the Turushka army himself, skilled in stratagem. Thereupon the army of Tunga dispersed immediately. The Shāhi force, however, was seen for [some] time, moving about in battle. Even when the Shāhi's army was gone, Jayasimha rushed about fighting and Śrīvardhana and Vibhramārka, the Dāmara, of Samgrāma's family. These three valiant men, fighting on the terrible field of battle, which resounded with [the tramp of] horses, preserved the honour of their country from being lost. Who could describe the greatness of Trilochanapāla whom countless enemies even could not defeat in battle? Trilochana causing torrents of blood to pour forth in battle resembled Śiva [Trilochana] when sending forth the fire that burns the world at the end of the Kalpa. After fighting crores of armour-clad soldiers in the battle, this [prince] who was experienced in affairs, came forth singly from among the foes, pressing [around him]. When Trilochana had gone afar, the whole country was overshadowed by hosts of fierce Chaudālas, which [resembled clouds of] locusts. Even after he had obtained his victory, Hammīra did not breathe freely, thinking of the superhuman prowess of the illustrious Trilochanapāla. Trilochana displayed great resolution also after he had fallen from his position, and relying on his force of elephants, endeavoured to recover victory."

"I have not described here at length how rapidly the royal glory of the Shāhis has vanished even [down to their very] name, this being only an incident That Shāhi kingdom whose greatness on the earth has above been briefly indicated, now one asks oneself whether, with its kings, ministers and its court, it ever was or was not."

Unfortunately Kalhana has omitted to indicate the year in which Tunga's expedition took place, but many of the details seem to point to Maḥmūd's invasion of A.H. 404 (=A.D. 1013), and it was probably the last occasion on which Trilochanapāla made a stand against him in the Punjab. It is clear from the context that the battle was fought in the Tauṣi or Tohi Valley, and probably towards the lower part, not far from Jehlam.

Maḥmūd's expedition ¹ of A.D. 1013, above referred to, is fully described in the *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, and is similar in many details to that of the Rājataranṅinī. It is as follows:—"After the Sultān had purified Hind from idolatry and raised mosques therein, he determined to invade the capital of Hind to punish those who

¹ *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*. Elliot's History, Vol. II, pp. 37-8 9.

kept idols and would not acknowledge the unity of God. He marched with a large army in the year A.H. 404 (A.D. 1013) during a dark night and at the close of Autumn, on account of the purity of the southern breezes at that season When the Sultan had arrived near the frontier of Hind snow fell such as had never been seen before, in so much that the passes of the hills were closed, and mountains and valleys became of one level. The feet of the horses and camels were affected by the cold, so it may be conceived what the faces, hands and feet of men suffered. The well-known roads were concealed, and the right could not be distinguished from the left, or what was behind from that which was before, and they were unable to return till God should give the order. The Sultan employed himself in the meantime in collecting supplies, and sent for his guards from the different provinces. After having thus accumulated the means of warfare, and having been joined by his soldiers, who had come from different directions, in number equal to the drops of an Autumnal rain, he left these winter quarters in the Spring, and had the earth been endowed with feeling it would have groaned under the weight of the iron, the warriors, the horses and the beasts of burden. The guides marched on in front over hill and dale, before the sun arose and even before the light of the stars was extinguished. He urged on his horses for two months, among broad and deep rivers, and among jungles in which wild cattle even might lose their way."

"When the Sultan arrived near the end of his destination he set his cavalry in array, and formed them into different bodies, appointing his brother, Amir Nasr, son of Nasiru-d-din, to command the right wing, consisting of valiant heroes; Arslanu-l-Jazib to the left wing, consisting of powerful young men; and Abu Abdula Muhammad bin Ibrahim-l-Tai to the advance guard, consisting of fiery Arab Cavaliers; to the centre he appointed Altuntash, the Chamberlain, with the Sultan's personal slaves and attendants as firm as mountains."

"Nidar Bhim, the enemy of God and the Chief of Hind alarmed at this sudden invasion, summoned his vassals and generals and took refuge within a pass, which was narrow, precipitous and inaccessible. They entrenched themselves behind stones, and closed the entrance to the pass by their elephants, which looked like so many hills from their lofty stature. Here he remained in great security, being persuaded that the place was impervious to attack, but he did not know that God is the protector of the faithful, and the annihilator of infidels."

"When the Sultan learnt the intention of Nidar Bhim with respect to the protraction of the war, and his confidence in his

security, he advanced against them with his Dailamite warriors and Satanic Afghan spearmen, and they penetrated the pass like gimlets into wood, ascending the hills like mountain goats and descending them like torrents of water. The action lasted for several days without intermission, till at last some of the Hindus were drawn out into the plain to fight, like oil sucked up into the wick of a lamp, or like iron attracted by a magnet, and there they were assaulted and killed by the cavalry, just as the knight on the chess board demolishes pawns."

"When his vassals had joined Nidar Bhim with reinforcements, he consented to leave his entrenchments and come out himself into the plain, having the hills behind him and elephants drawn up on each wing. The battle raged furiously, and when the elephants of the Hindus moved on with the object of destroying their opponents, they were assailed by showers of arrows upon their trunks and eyes."

"The conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends, and the enemy were slain on the tops of the hills, and in the valleys, ravines and beds of torrents. A large number of elephants, which the enemy had looked upon as strongholds to protect them, fell into the hands of the victors, as well as much other booty. So God granted the Sultan the victory of Nardin, such as added to the decoration of the mantle of Islam, which had not before that period extended to the place."

"The Sultan returned marching in the rear of this immense booty, and slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap, and men of respectability in their native land, were degraded by becoming the slaves of common shopkeepers. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honours on his own religion and degrades infidelity."

Ferishta¹ also has a reference to this campaign, as follows :—
 "In the year 404 H. Maḥmūd marched his army against the fort of Ninduna situated on the mountains of Bālnāth, then in the possession of the Raja of Lahore. Anandpāl had lately died, and his son, Jaipāl the Second (Trilochanapāl) had succeeded to the government. When the grandson of Jaipāl (Trilochanapāl) saw that he could not oppose the king in the field, he drew off his army towards Kashmīr, leaving troops for the defence of his capital. Maḥmūd immediately invested it, and by mining and other modes of attack, put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. The king, having granted to the besieged their lives, took everything of value out of the place, and appointing a

¹ Ferishta, Briggs, trans. 1908, Vol. I, p. 54.

new governor, moved without delay towards Kashmīr, on which the Raja of Lahore, abandoning that province fled to the hills. Maḥmūd plundered Kashmīr and having forced the inhabitants to acknowledge the Prophet, returned with rich spoils to his capital."

There is yet another reference, in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, to this campaign. "In A.H. 404, the Sultan marched his army against the fort of Ninduna, situated on the mountain of Bāhnāth. Pur Jaipāl¹ left veteran troops for its protection, while he himself passed into one of the mountain valleys of Kashmīr. The Sultan having reached Ninduna, invested it and by mining and other modes of attack put the garrison under the necessity of capitulating. Sultan Maḥmūd with a few of his personal attendants entered it and took all the property he found there. Having left Sarogh as governor of the fort, he himself proceeded to the Kashmīr valley, where Pur Jaipāl had taken up his position. The chief, however, did not await his arrival but fled, and when the Sultan reached the pass he obtained great spoil and a large number of slaves. He also converted many infidels to Muhammadanism and having spread Islām in that country returned to Ghazni." (*Elliot's History*, Vol. II, App., p. 451.)

Nardin where the battle was fought seems to have been in the vicinity of Jehlam, as also the fort of Ninduna, but the true reading of these names has been lost and cannot be restored. The latter place is said to have been on "the mountain of Bāhnāth," overhanging the Jehlam, and now generally called Tilla, which means a hill. It is still occasionally called Bāhnāth.

It has been suggested by one writer that the action which preceded the capture of Ninduna, was fought at the Mārgala Pass, some distance on the Attock side of Rāwal Pindi, which is said to answer well to the description given of it by 'Utbi, in the *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*. 'Utbi, who was Maḥmūd's Secretary, did not himself accompany the army into India, and this may account for a certain want of preciseness in his description of the campaign. In any case it seems improbable that Maḥmūd would be allowed to advance as far as the Jehlam without being opposed, and it is worth noting that Nidar Bhim--'the dauntless Bhim'--that is, Bhimpāl, son of Trilochanapāl--was in command in the battle which preceded the capture of Ninduna; and his father in

¹ Note.—Trilochanapāl's name as found in the *Rajatarāṅgiṇī* goes through various forms in the Muhammadan authors. Some of these are—Tadan Jaipāl, Nanduwa Jaipāl, Turu Jaipāl, Puru Jaipāl, Nardajanpala, Niranjanpal, Tasdar Jaipāl, and many more. (*Elliot*, Vol. II, p. 427.)

that so graphically described in the *Rājatarāṅgīnī*. While, therefore, there are many points of similarity in the two descriptions, the doubt remains as to whether they refer to the same battle, or to two different actions in the same or a succeeding campaign. In either case we may safely assume that the Shāhi army retreated from Ninduna up the valley of the Pūnch Tohi, pursued, as we are told, by Maḥmūd. Down to the present time a road, called "the royal road" crosses the Jehlam near the town and runs up its left bank, and up the left bank of the Tohi, over an open plain, to Pūnch. It was doubtless the main line of advance to Kashmīr in former times.

Maḥmūd is said to have pursued the Hindu army into the Kashmīr Valley, but it is certain that the main valley is not indicated. It has to be borne in mind that at that period the whole of the outer hills, from the Indus to the Rāvi, were subject to Kashmīr. Neither on this nor any other occasion did Maḥmūd succeed in crossing the Pir Panjāl, though it is probable that he advanced as far as Lohara.

The battle on the banks of the Tohi, described by Kalhaṇa, was the last occasion on which the Shāhi Kings opposed Maḥmūd in the Punjāb. Long and bravely had they struggled to stem the tide of invasion and save their country, but in vain, and with the loss of their kingdom their very name perished from the earth. Trilochanapāl continued to rule in Lahore, but only in name, and his son, Bhīmpāl, who succeeded in A.D. 1021, is no longer referred to as an independent ruler by the Muhammadan historians. He was the last of his line and died in A.D. 1027 (*cf.* Alberuni, *Indica*, Vol. II, p. 13.)

Having penetrated so far into the hills, Maḥmūd must have heard much about Kashmīr, and we are told by Ūṭbi that he was desirous of invading that country. After such a severe engagement, however, probably with heavy losses, his army must have been too exhausted to prosecute the campaign, especially as the hot weather was close at hand; and he retired to Ghaznī, laden with booty.

¹ After bringing disaster on the Shāhi army by his impetuosity and rashness, Tunga retreated slowly to Kashmīr, and was soon afterwards assassinated along with his son, by Sangrāmārāja, at the instigation of Vighraharāja of Lohara, who had a grudge against him.

In A.D. 1015, Maḥmūd again invaded the Punjab for the purpose of conquering Kashmīr. On his previous expedition some of the local hill chiefs had given in their submission, but revolted

¹ *Rajatar.*, Stein., V. II, pp. 73-4 ff.

on his retirement, and Ferishta states that he came to punish them and besiege some forts which he had not reduced on his first expedition into the hills. The first and most important of these was Lohkot, that is, Loharakotta, remarkable on account of its height and strength, and which entirely defeated Maḥmūd's utmost efforts. Not being able to reduce it in the summer season he was obliged on the approach of winter to abandon the siege and return to Ghazni.

There is no allusion to this expedition in the *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, the *Rausatu-s-Safā* or the *Ḥabīb-n-Siyār*, but it is mentioned in the *Tārīkh-i-Alfi*, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* and Ferishta.

¹ Ferishta's account of the campaign is as follows:—

Maḥmūd in the year 406 H. (A.D. 1015), again marched with the design of entering Kashmīr, and besieged the fort of Lohkot, which was remarkable on account of its height and strength. After a while when the snow began to fall, and the season became intensely cold, and the enemy received reinforcements from Kashmīr, the Sultan was obliged to abandon his design and return to Ghazni. On his route having lost his way he came upon a place where the whole plain was covered with water—wherever they went they saw nothing but water. Many of the troops perished. This was the first disaster that the Sultan suffered in his campaigns against India. After some days he extricated himself with great difficulty from his peril and reached Ghazni without having achieved any success." (Elliot's History, Vol. II, App. p. 456.)

From the absence of any allusion to this expedition in the *Tārīkh-i-Yāminī*, the inference has been drawn that it did not take place, and that the account in Ferishta and other writers really refers to a later expedition in A.D. 1021. Such an inference seems quite uncalled for. It seems more probable that

Utbi, being a contemporary writer and holding the position he did, would be afraid to put on record any account of an expedition which was practically a failure. The waters from which Maḥmūd could not extricate his army were probably those of the Jehlam near the junction of the Tohi river, or lower down near Jehlam.

In A.D. 1017, Maḥmūd again invaded the Punjab and was waited only by a prince from the outer hills near Kashmīr, who sent him presents of all that was curious and valuable in his kingdom, and was directed to accompany the army, then proceeding to the conquest of Kanauj (Ferishta, Trans. 1908, Vol. I, p. 57).

¹ Ferishta, Briggs, 1908, Vol. I, pp. 54-5.

¹ Once more in A.H. 412 (A.D. 1021), Maḥmūd ascended the valley of the Pūnch Tohi and laid siege to Loharakoṭṭa, called Lohkoṭ in the record. The army lay before it for one month, but finding it altogether impregnable, on account of its strength and loftiness, he raised the siege and departed to Lahore. It would thus seem that Loharakoṭṭa was besieged twice and unsuccessfully by Maḥmūd.

This expedition is referred to both in *Ferishta* and the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, by Nizamud-din Ahmad. *Ferishta's* reference is very brief and he does not give the year but it may be inferred from the context that he alludes to A.H. 412-13 (A.D. 1021). The reference in the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* is as follows: "In A.H. 412, the king advanced toward Kashmīr and invested the stronghold of Lohkot. He stayed before it one month, but finding the fort on account of its strength and loftiness altogether impregnable he decamped and proceeded towards Lahore and Bāgar. He directed his followers to plunder the hill country and immense booty was collected. The Sultan returned in the commencement of spring to Ghazni."

² Alberuni, who came to India about A.D. 1017 and remained till about A.D. 1031, is believed to have accompanied this expedition. In his *Indica* he mentions the high peak south of the capital, which he names "Kulārjak" resembling by its cupola shape the mountain of Dumbavand (Damavand) and remarks: "The snow there never melts. It is always visible from the region of Tākeshar (Central Punjab) and Lauhāvar (Lahore). The distance between this peak and the plateau of Kashmīr is two *farsakh*. The fortress of Rājagiri lies south of it, and the fortress of Lahur west of it, the two strongest places I have ever seen. The town of Rājāwarī (Rājapurī) is three *farsakh* distant from the peak. This is the farthest place to which our merchants trade and beyond which they never pass.

There can be little doubt that Alberuni refers to Mount Tatakūṭī (15,524 ft.), the highest peak in the Pīr Panjāl Range, south of Kashmīr. Rājagiri was a strong fortress south of the Pīr Panjāl Pass and within the Rajauri State. Lahur, from the position assigned to it by Alberuni can be no other than Loharakoṭṭa. Further confirmation is found in another passage in the *Indica*, where Alberuni calls the fortress, Lauhur, in latitude, 34° 10', and states that "it is distant fifty-six (Arabian) miles from the capital of Kashmīr, half the way being rugged country and the other half plain;" which is very near the actual distance

¹ *Ferishta*, Trans., 1908, Vol. I, p. 65, and *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari* (Elliot, Vol. II, pp. 466-67.)

² *Indica*, Vol. I, pp. 207-208.

of sixty English miles by the Tosiamaidān Pass (*Indica*, Vol. I, p. 317).

¹ During these eventful years Vighraharāja was ruler of Lohara, and was most probably in the famous fortress on the two occasions when it was besieged. He had a long reign and survived his brother, Sangrāmarāja of Kashmīr, who died in A.D. 1028. The latter was succeeded by his son, Harirāja, who ruled only for twenty-two days, and was followed by his brother, Ananta-deva, a minor. Taking advantage of the confusion that resulted, Vighrarāja again, in A.D. 1030, put forward his claim to the throne of Kashmīr and pressed by rapid marches into the valley, entering the capital two-and-a-half days after leaving Lohara. He seized the Loṭhikā-maṭha, but was soon afterwards killed by the troops sent to oppose him, who burnt down the place. Vighrarāja was succeeded by his son, Kshitirāja, who had a long reign of thirty-five years. In A.D. 1065, he abdicated and withdrew from all political affairs, and being at enmity with his own son, who sought to dethrone him, he bestowed his kingdom on Utkarsha, an infant, the second son of Kalaśa and a grandson of Ananta-deva of Kashmīr who seems to have acted as his guardian during his minority. Kshitirāja then retired to Chakradhara, a shrine in Kashmīr where he lived as an ascetic till his death. He is said to have been learned and of a pious disposition and associated much with ascetics, being devoted to the worship of Vishnu. He is praised by Bilhana the poet as distinguished in arms as well as in learning and as a patron of poets, and equal in fame to Bhoja. The vicious life and rebellious spirit of his son Bhuvana-rāja distressed him greatly and Kalhana tells us that he went to Ananta-deva, the Raja of Kashmīr, to seek comfort. His son had fled to a neighbouring State called Nilapura, probably Babbapura, the ancient capital of Jammu, and was preparing an expedition against his father with the help of the ruler of that State. Possibly the victory won by Kshitirāja over Rājapurī, referred to by Bilhana, was over the combined armies of Rājapurī and Nilapura, supporting his son of whom no further mention occurs in the records (*Rajatar.* VII, 251. ff.)

Utkarsha succeeded as a child at the breast and ruled till A.D. 1089.

We find his name among the hill chiefs who, in the winter of A.D. 1087-8, presented themselves in Śrīnagar as feudatories of Kashmīr. Before Kalaśa's death, in A.D. 1089, Utkarsha was summoned to Kashmīr to be inaugurated as heir-apparent in place of his elder brother, Harsha, who was then in prison, to which his

¹ *Rajatarang.*, Stein, VII, pp. 139-141

father had consigned him for misconduct. Twenty-two days after his father's death Harsha, with the connivance of his guards, succeeded in making his escape and was at once installed by the officials, and Utkarsha, fearing for his life, committed suicide. He was only twenty-four years of age at the time of his death.¹

By Utkarsha's accession to the throne of Kashmīr, Lohara lost its separate autonomy and with several short intervals of independence, was ruled from this time onwards as a province of that kingdom. The famous fort was used as a treasure house and State prison and as a place of refuge in time of need.

² But although no longer a separate principality, Lohara continued to play an important part in Kashmīr politics. With the accession of the Lohara dynasty to the throne a wider field for advancement was opened up to the younger princes of that family. Among these were two brothers, Uchchala and Sussala, already referred to, great-great-grandsons of Kāntirāja—a younger brother of Queen Diddā, who were fated to occupy a prominent place in Kashmīr history. They seem to have resided at Harsha's court, and were employed on various forms of State service. In a disastrous expedition against the Dards of the Kishengangā Valley they brought themselves into notice by their bravery and the people were loud in their praise. This excited the jealousy and suspicion of Harsha, on account of their near relationship in the succession to the throne. Fearing for themselves, they fled at night from Śrīnagar in the autumn of A.D. 1101 and escaped with the help of some of the Dāmaras or feudal barons. Uchchala found a refuge in Rājapuri and Sussala in a neighbouring hill State, called Kālinjara, which has not been identified. It was probably in the lower valley of the Pūnch Tohi.

³ During Uchchala's residence at Rājapuri an incident occurred which has already been related, when under the influence of strong feeling, the young prince entered the presence of the Rājapuri Chief and proclaimed his pedigree, proving his descent from Śimharāja of Lohara, and the justice of his claim to the throne of Kashmīr.

Having by his boldness defeated an attempt to prevent his escape from Rājapuri, and accompanied by a number of Dāmaras, he set out *via* Lohara for Kashmīr. Meeting with no resistance on the way, he crossed the Pīr Panjāl Range in Vaisākh A.D. 1101 and advanced into the main valley, but he was defeated and had to flee. He, however, soon assembled another force and again advanced on the capital from the north-west, while his brother,

¹ *Rajatarang.*, VII, 251-261.

² *Rajatar.*, Stein, VII, 1183, *et seq.* and 1248 ff. ³ *Ibidem*, VII, 1281, *et seq.*

Sussala, approached with an army from the south-east. Harsha in his extremity was advised to flee to Loharakōṭṭa for safety, but refused, and his forces being defeated, almost all his officials deserted him and he with his son, Bhoja, was killed. The first Lohara dynasty thus came to an end.

¹ Uchchala then (A.D. 1101) succeeded to the throne of Kashmīr and he conferred Lohara on his brother, Sussala, as an independent chiefship. With this, however, he was not content and soon began to intrigue, with a view to oust his brother and secure full power. He invaded Kashmīr, but was unsuccessful and had to retire to Lohara. In A.D. 1105, the brothers made up their quarrel and became reconciled, and Sussala continued to rule his principality of Lohara.

² Some time later (A.D. 1111), other troubles arose in Kashmīr, and Uchchala was assassinated in his palace by one of his officers, the city prefect, who claimed the throne. He, however, failed to obtain support and was killed, and in the spring of A.D. 1112, Sussala was re-called from Lohara and installed as king of Kashmīr.

³ Like his brother, Sussala had a troubled reign. On his installation his two younger half-brothers, Salhana and Loṭhana, as being claimants to the throne, were arrested and taken to Lohara, where they were imprisoned in the strong fort, where Sussala had deposited much treasure.

⁴ Soon afterwards a more dangerous rival appeared in the person of Bhikshāchara, the son of Bhoja and grandson of Harsha, the rightful heir to the throne. On his father's death he was taken away as a child to Mālwa where he remained till A.D. 1112. The first attempt to recover his kingdom, made by one of his followers, was unsuccessful, and being still quite young, he retired to some of the States in the outer hills, one of which was Chamba, where he resided till A.D. 1120. In that year an advance was made into Kashmīr and Sussala's army having sustained a defeat, he sent away his family to Lohara and he himself soon followed. Bhikshāchara was then installed as king. But the restoration of the direct line to the throne was of brief duration. Soon after his return Bhikshāchara sent an army to expel Sussala from Lohara, which advanced by Rājapurī, and was joined by Somapala, the chief of that State. On reaching Pūnch, it was met and opposed by Sussala and completely routed. Sussala then invaded Kāshmir and recovered his kingdom, after an absence of only six months.

Lohara was thus again re-united to Kashmīr. The civil war went on intermittently for ten years till Bhikshāchara's death in

¹ *Rajatar.*, VIII, 8.

² *Ibidem.*, VIII, 519.

³ *Ibidem.*, VIII, 303 ff.

⁴ *Ibidem.*, VIII, 684 ff.

A.D. 1130, but it was confined to Kashmīr and did not extend to Lohara. In A.D. 1123, Jayasimha, the heir-apparent, who had been sent to Lohara along with his mother and other members of Sussala's family, in A.D. 1120, for safety, was now re-called and installed as *Yuvarāja*, a governor was then appointed over Lohara.

As already stated Salhana and Lothana, half-brothers of Sussala, had been sent to Lohara in A.D. 1112 and were kept in close confinement in the fort, where Salhana died. On the death of Sussala by assassination in A.D. 1128 and the accession of Jayasimha, the confinement seems to have been somewhat relaxed, and in A.D. 1130, Lothana succeeded in winning over some of the soldiers of the garrison, by whom in the absence of the commandant at a neighbouring village, he was liberated and crowned. Thus the fort and the treasure accumulated by Sussala came into his hands. (*Rajatarang.*, Stein, VIII, 1793 ff.)

News of the revolt was despatched to Jayasimha and an army was sent from Kashmīr to recover the fortress.

Kalhana devotes a large amount of space to this portion of his history and goes into great detail, often of a humorous and entertaining character, regarding the incidents of the siege and the characteristics of the various persons who figure in his narrative. These details have a special interest, as depicting in vivid colours the social conditions of the age in which he wrote.

On the approach of the army from Kashmīr, Lothana through his Ministers turned to Somāpāl of Rājapurī for help, promising him a rich reward from the amassed treasure in the fort, which had come into his possession. Somāpāl was notorious for his avarice and accepted the offer. He then had at his court a former Commander-in-Chief of Jayasimha's, called Sujji, who had fled for refuge from Kashmīr in consequence of intrigues against him. Under him a force advanced towards Lohara and on hearing of its arrival, by the sudden beating of the war drums at night, the Kashmīr army fell into a panic and fled in confusion. Many perished in the mountain passes and many more after their arrival in Kashmīr, from the poison of the malarial fevers contracted in the Lohara valley.

¹ Kalhana gives a very amusing description of the flight of the army leaders which is worth quoting. It is as follows:—

“Sujji marched on quickly and then by having the drums beaten to announce to his opponent the surprise attack, caused a panic.”

“Thereupon the troops with their helpless leaders fled quickly by various hill paths, while the night yet lasted.”

"In the morning the Ministers were stripped of their fine dresses by the plunderers, just as big rocks are deprived by Earthquakes of the various liquid minerals contained in them."

"No one drew his sword to protect the troops from being plundered. Every one saved himself and no one else."

"Some who were scaling the rocks in leaps and displaying their crimson under-clothing, showed such skill in their flight, as (if they had been) red-bullocked monkeys."

"Some again who having lost their clothes displayed their yellowish bodies, appeared in their movements like fragments of blocks of yellow orpiment, driven about by the wind."

"Some again whose bodies were heavy as they moved on the mountains, which were thickly covered with spears, trumpeting when they took breath, resembled young elephants on hills covered with bamboo forests."

"What need of mentioning names. There was not a single Minister there who did not fling away courage and flee like a beast."

Laksmaka, the Chamberlain, was captured and brought before Sujji, whom a short time before this he had persuaded Jayasinha to exile from Kashmīr. Sujji treated him kindly and made him over to Somāpāl, but he was afterwards ransomed and returned to Kashmīr. Loṭhana then made Sujji his Minister and maintained himself for some months in possession of Lohara.¹ But Jayasinha was intent on recovering his lost province, and secretly got into touch with some of Loṭhana's officers and urged them to depose him and put Mallārjuna, another political prisoner then in the fort and a son of Sussala, in his place. Accordingly when Loṭhana was absent from the fort they released Mallārjuna and installed him as Raja.²

He proved to be a weak and dissolute ruler, and squandered much of the wealth that had come into his hands on unworthy persons. On the approach of another army from Kashmīr he agreed to pay tribute to Jayasinha. But Loṭhana still had a party in his support and having won over a powerful Dāmara or hill baron, named Koshthesvara, he made frequent attacks on Mallārjuna and rendered his position precarious.

Meanwhile Sujji had been invited to return to Kashmīr, where he was reinstated in his old position, and sent in A.D. 1132 in command of a force against Lohara. On his approach Mallārjuna became alarmed and taking the treasure with him abandoned the fort and fled to Rājapuri territory. At a later date, in A.D. 1135, while making an irruption into Kashmīr he was

¹ *Ibidem*, VIII, 1921 ff.

² *Ibidem*, VIII, 1941-47 ff.

defeated, captured and imprisoned, and Lohara was then restored to Kashmir.¹

²Lothana still remained at large, stirring up disaffection, till in A.D. 1143, he was compelled to take refuge in a hill fort in the Kishenganga Valley, which was besieged by the Kashmir army. On supplies running short and a capitulation becoming inevitable, Lothana was surrendered to Jayasimha, to purchase the raising of the siege, and was imprisoned. Thus both of the claimants to the throne were got out of the way, and a governor was sent to rule the Lohara State.

Towards the end of Jayasimha's reign his eldest son, Gulhana, then a child, was crowned as ruler of Lohara, and this was probably intended, as Sir A. Stein suggests, to secure his succession against future risks. It seems not improbable that this branch of the Lohara family continued to rule the State long after the main line in Kashmir came to an end in A.D. 1171, and in this connection it is noteworthy that Jayasimha was succeeded by a younger son and not by Gulhana.

Jayasimha died in A.D. 1154 and was followed by his son, Paramāṇuka and his grandson Vartideva, with the latter of whom the second Lohara dynasty came to an end in A.D. 1171. From this time the Lohara State is seldom referred to in the Chronicles subsequent to that of Kalhana, and only thrice in the Muhammadan period, dating from A.D. 1339, when the Hindu dynasty in Kashmir came to an end.

³The first mention occurs in the reign of Kumbhādīn (Kuṭb-ud-dīn) A.D. 1373-89. At that time Lohara seems to have had a Hindu ruler of Kshatri caste, that is, Rājput, who is called the "lord of Lohara," possibly, as suggested, a descendant of the old ruling family. He had been in revolt against Kashmir and in the reign of Shahābu-d-dīn, father of Kuṭb-ud-dīn, a force was sent to reconnoitre but had to retreat "in fear of the lord of the country." Kuṭb-ud-dīn on coming to the throne despatched a powerful Dāmara or feudal baron, named Lolaka, with an army, to lay siege to the fort, and he surrounded it on all sides. The Lohara chief despairing of a successful defence sent some Brahmans to arrange favourable terms of capitulation. The Dāmara, regarding them as spies, treated them badly and beat them. This aroused the Rāja's wrath and he determined to hold out at all costs. Arrows and stones were rained on the besiegers in such numbers from the hill that they were compelled to retreat with the loss of their leader who was struck and killed. As the poet humourously remarks:—The stones discharged by the

¹ *Ibidem*, VIII, 1989-2309.

² *Ibidem*, VIII, 2492-2641.

³ *Rajatar.*, of Yonaraja, Dutt. 1898, pp. 47-48.

enemy covered the Damara Lolaka so that he was not deprived of burial, the last rite of the Yavanas.

The next reference is in the reign of Zainu-l-Abidin, A.D. 1420-70. He had three sons, of whom the eldest was Adam Khān and they were at enmity with one another. The Rāja, therefore, considered it inadvisable to keep them all at court, and Hāji Khān, the second son, was sent to Lohara, as Ferishta states, to conquer the country, which he succeeded in doing. We may, therefore, assume that the Hindu dynasty came to an end about this time (A.D. 1450), as there is no further reference to it in any authority.

An interesting point in connection with the above reference is that Hāji Khān had his residence at Parnotṣa (Punch) and not at Loharakotṭa, like the former Rājas. The fort, however, was still in existence, for we find one of the Kashmīr nobles, named Jahāngīr Makri, fleeing to it for safety, in the reign of Hassan Shāh, the son of Hājī or Haidar Shāh. The State was still called Lohara or Lohkot though in all likelihood Parnotṣa now became the capital, as it has continued to be down to the present time. The last reference to Lohara, in the *Rajatarangini* of Prajyabhata and Shuka, is towards the end of the reign of Muhammad Shāh (c. A.D. 1530), the great-grandson of Zainu-l-Abidin. This king was thrice compelled to flee from Kashmīr by other claimants to the throne, especially Faṭh Shāh, son of Adham Khān. On the third occasion he seems to have been confined in the Lohara fort, and on being liberated in A.D. 1530, he "came to Lohara and exacted revenues and other taxes from towns like the former sovereigns of the country." From this it is clear that Hindu rule must have ceased sometime previously, and the territory probably remained directly under Kashmīr as an imperial demesne after the commencement of Mughal rule in A.D. 1586, down to the reign of Jahāngīr, when it was granted to the ancestor of the Muhammadan dynasty which ruled the country till 1819. The lower portion of the Tohi Valley had previous to this been made a separate State, with the capital at Koteli, ruled by a branch of the Kashmīr royal family.

The ancestor of the Muhammadan dynasty is said to have been Man Singh, a cadet of the Jodhpur family. His son was Sarje Singh, who became a Muhammadan and received the name of Sirajuddin Khan. He came to Punch some time in the reign of Jahāngīr and settled in Kahuta. There he became acquainted with the local official whose title was Chaudri and married his daughter. Later he succeeded his father-in-law in the office of Chaudri and this title still remains in the family.

Some time afterwards the Emperor came by Punch on one of

his visits to Kashmūr and it fell to the Chaudri to arrange everything for the imperial camp. This duty he discharged with such ability that he attracted the Emperor's attention, and inquiries were made about his family; on learning that he belonged to the Rathor family of Jodhpur he was appointed ruler of Punch. He probably assumed or received the title of Rājā and continued to rule the State for some years. He was succeeded by his son, Fateh Mohammad Khan, who also had a long reign. Nothing seems to be known about the events of the time and there was probably little to record.

Abdul Rizak Khan was the next ruler who was followed by his son Rustam Khan and grandson Shahbaz Khan, with whom the senior branch became extinct. The succession after this time is uncertain. Perhaps one or two reigns may have intervened between Shahbaz Khan and the last Rājā, Rahullah Khan, whose reign came to an end in 1819 with the extinction of the State.

It seems certain that Punch became the capital from the time of Muhammad Shah, A.D. 1530 or earlier, and from it the State in later times took its name which it has borne ever since, virtually a reversion to the ancient name of the territory. The name, Lohara, then fell into disuse. The limits of the territory seem to have been very much the same as at the present time.

We can find no mention of the State in any of the histories of the Mughal period, but several references occur in the Chronicles of Rājaurī. It was in subjection to the Mughals from 1586 to 1752, like all the other hill States of the Punjab. Rājaurī seems to have acquired a kind of suzerainty over the State, specially during the reign of Aurangzeb, due to the fact that he was married to a Rājaurī princess who was the mother of his son and successor Muazam or Bahadur Shah.

From A.D. 1752 to 1819, Punch like the other hill States and especially those to the west of the Chinab was under Durani rule, and as during the Mughal period, its history seems to have been uneventful. The ruling family and most of the population being of the same religion as the paramount powers helped to encourage and maintained friendly relations and we read of no outbreaks such as were common among the Hindu States to the east of the Chinab.

With the rise of the Sikh power in the Punjab this long period of comparative tranquillity came to an end. Before 1810, Ranjit Singh had asserted his supremacy over all the hill States, except those to the west of the Chināb, which still maintained political relations with Kabul. His main objective at that time was the conquest of Kashmūr, which was still in the possession of the Afghans. The subjection of these hill tracts, containing the

States of Bhimbar, Rājaurī, Kari Kariyālī, Kotālī and Punch, thus became a necessary preliminary to any further advance.

¹ Bhimbar and Rājaurī were reduced in 1810 and 1812 after much hard fighting, and in 1814 the Sikh army advanced to Punch, led by the Mahārāja in person. The Rāja of Punch at that time was Ruh-Ullah-Khān and his sympathies were with the Afghans. On the eve of the Sikh advance, Ranjīt Singh sent a letter to the Rāja asking his co-operation in the invasion of Kashmīr. To this an evasive answer was returned, pleading engagements with Kashmīr and his inability to comply with the Mahārāja's wishes as his son was a hostage in the hands of the Durānis.

² One division of the Sikh army, under the Mahārāja, advanced into the Tohī Valley, while the other followed the route over the Pīr Panjāl. The Rāja of Punch with his forces fell back before them in the direction of the Toṣa-Maidān Pass, after issuing orders to his people to abandon all towns and villages and harass the enemy in every way.

Some delay occurred at Punch while the Sikhs waited for supplies, and the rainy season having set in they suffered much from damp and cold, and the troops of the Punch Rāja secretly aided by the Rāja of Rājaurī hung on their flanks and cut off stragglers. On reaching the Toṣa-Maidān Pass on 18th July it was found to be strongly held by the Afghans.

Meantime the other division of the Sikh army had succeeded in forcing its way into the Kashmīr Valley by the Pīr Panjāl and other passes, but was defeated and compelled to retreat. Hearing of this disaster to the Sikhs, the Afghan Commander at the Toṣa-Maidān Pass ordered a general attack on the main Sikh army, led by the Rāja of Punch. The Sikhs were unable to hold their ground and a retreat was ordered which ended in a rout. All semblance of order and discipline was lost and after setting fire to Punch the Mahārāja fled with a few followers, escaping it is said with difficulty.

In this precipitate retreat almost the whole of the camp baggage was lost, and great numbers perished, including many officers.

Punch continued to preserve its independence for a few more years, till the conquest of Kashmīr in 1819 transferred the hill tracts to the Sikhs. On this occasion also, as in 1814, the Punch Rāja supported the Afghans and on their defeat he was expelled from his State.

Of the subsequent history of the family we know little. The

¹ *History of the Punjab* Latif, pp. 388 and 393.

² *Ibidem*, pp. 402-3, 4.

last representatives of the main line seem to have been Sher Jang Khān and Shams Khān, probably sons of Ruh-Ullah Khān, who, Cunningham says, were killed by Rāja Gulāb Singh.

The head of a collateral branch of the family Sher Bāz Khān was granted a *jāgīr* in Punch, probably by Ranjit Singh, which his descendants still hold. The present head of the family is Rāja Ghulām Mohai-ud-dīn of Sadhrun in the Upper Tohī Valley.

Soon after the conquest of Kashmīr Punch was granted in fief to Rāja Dhiān Singh, younger brother of Rāja Gulāb Singh of Jammu. The exact date is uncertain but it was before 1828. Soon after this date he was created Wazīr or Chief Minister of the Sikh kingdom, an office which he continued to hold till his death. He seldom resided at Punch, as his duties at court detained him with the Mahārāja where he advanced and safeguarded the common interests of the family.

¹ Vigne, the traveller, passed through Punch in 1837 on his way to Kashmīr. He remarks:—"Punch itself is in no way remarkable, it is much less than Rajawur and somewhat larger than Kotli, the houses being of the same construction, and not being aware of anything of sufficient interest to detain me there I commenced at once the ascent to the pass (Toṣa-Maidān). It is usually necessary to pass the night at Kahuta, having first ridden through the district of Sudarun at the mouth of the valley."

"At the latter place I once met a large retinue and exchanged compliments with its Chief, Rajah Sher Baz Khan, who was hunting. He was, I believe, the descendant of the Rāja of Punch. But that place and all that was subject to it were under the iron rule of Gulab Singh or his brothers."

Rāja Dhiān Singh continued to rule the State till 15th September 1843, when he was assassinated on the same day as Mahārāja Sher Singh by the Sindianwāla Sirdars. He was succeeded by his eldest son, Rāja Hira Singh, who in his turn was also assassinated on 22nd December 1844. He was followed by his younger brother, Rāja Jawāhir Singh.

In March 1846, after the first Sikh War, the hill tracts, including Punch, were made over to Rāja Gulāb Singh, but in the treaty no provision was made for the separate autonomy of Punch which thus became a part of Jammu and Kashmīr State. This and other causes aroused strong feeling between Rāja Jawāhir Singh and his uncle, which lasted for many years. At last in 1859, sometime after Mahārāja Gulāb Singh's death, an arrangement was come to under which Rāja Jawāhir Singh agreed to abdicate in favour of his younger brother, Raja Moti Singh, on

¹ Vigne, *Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 248-49.

condition that he should receive an annual allowance of one lakh of rupees and reside in the Punjab beyond Ambāla.

Rāja Motī Singh continued to rule the State till 1897 and was succeeded by his son, Rāja Baldev Singh, who died in 1918. The present ruler is Rāja Sukhdev Singh.

History of Rajauri State.

J. HUTCHISON AND J. PH. VOGEL.

Rājaurī State was situated in the valley of the Rājaurī or Mināwar Tawī and its tributaries to the south of the Pīr Panjāl Range, dividing it from Kashmīr. Its ancient name was Rājapurī of which Rājaurī is a derivation. It was bounded on the north by the Pīr Panjāl; on the west by Punch and Kotelī; on the south by Bhimber and on the east by the Chināb.

The entire area between the Jehlam and Chināb in the outer hills, bore in former times the name of *Dārvābhisāra*, from the two tribes—Dārva and Abhisāra, by whom it was inhabited.¹ Sir Aurel Stein (*Rājatarang*, I, 180 note) has an interesting note on the subject, as follows:—"The combined names of the Dārvas and Ābhisāras are mentioned in various ethnographical lists, furnished by the *Mahābhārata*, the *Purāṇas* and *Bṛhatsāmhita*, along with those of tribes belonging to the Panjāb. The position of their country was first correctly ascertained by Wilson, *Essay*, pp. 116 sq. Comp. also Lassen, *Ind. Alt.* p. 147; *P.W.S.V.* Lassen, *Pentapot. Ind.* p. 18; *Vide* Saint-Martin, *Mém. de l'Académie des Inscr., Sac. Étrang.*, I, série, V, pp. 299 sq; *Ind. Ant.* XIV, pp. 321 sqq."

"From the evidence available it appears that Dārvabhisāra, as a geographical term, comprised the whole tract of the lower and middle hills, lying between the Vitastā and Chandrabhāgā. The Chandrabhāgā seems to mark the eastern limit of the territory, in the passage of the *Viśṇupur*; IV, p. 223. From *Rājat.*, VIII, 1531, and the topographical point discussed in note, VIII, 1891, it is clear that the hill-state of *Rājapurī* (Rājaurī) was included in Dārvābhisāra."

That the Chandrabhāgā (Chināb) marked the eastern boundary of the State is more than probable, as the hill country to the east of that river was held by the tribe of *Durgara*, from which the tract still bears the name in the abbreviated form of *Ḍugar* (Jammu).

It is probable that the name, *Dārvābhisāra*, was in use from before the time of Alexander's invasion down to the twelfth

¹ Kalhana's *Rājataranginī*, a *Chronicle of the Kings of Kashmīr*, Transl. by M.A. Stein, Westminster, 1900, Vol. I, p. 32.

century and possibly a good deal later. In the Greek authors we read of a king of this tract, called Abisāres, who first opposed Alexander on the Indus and later made his submission at the Hydaspes. The name is evidently ethnic, from the name of the principal tribe over which he ruled; for we know that from ancient times it has been the custom among the hill chiefs to take their clan or family name from the name of the tribe or territory over which each exercised dominion. In the same manner the ruler of Taxila is called Taxiles—as an ethnic or clan name; though his real name is also given in some of the histories. We may assume that the names *Aśakes* and *Poros* were also ethnic in character—the first being derived from Uraśa—the Ovaṇa or Apoa of Ptolemy (Hazāra) and Poros is supposed to be the Greek rendering of Sanskrit *Paucara*, meaning 'descendant of (the race of) Puru'.¹

The first mention of Abisāres, who is called "the king of the Indian mountaineers" is in connection with a force sent to oppose Alexander, on his advance towards the Indus. After his capture of Aornos, and passage of the Indus, Abisāres seems to have got alarmed and sent envoys to Taxila, accompanied by his own brother and other notable men, to tender his submission. He had been in league with Poros, the king of the district on the plains between the Hydaspes (Jehlām) and the Akesines (Chinab), and they were at war with the king of Taxila, who had joined Alexander as an ally at Ohind with a contingent of 700 horse and valuable supplies in money and kind for the Greek army. In the previous year the Rāja's father, since deceased, had met Alexander at Nikaia (Jalālābād) and tendered his submission, which was now renewed by the son: the object probably being to secure Alexander's help against his enemies to the south.²

³The mission of Abisāres was favourably received, and Alexander entertained hopes that Poros would be equally submissive: but the summons to him to present himself and pay tribute was met with the proud answer, that he awaited the advance of the Greek army to his frontier and was ready to give it battle.

On the defeat of Poros at the Hydaspes, Abisāres again sent envoys, who stated that he was ready to surrender himself and his kingdom. Alexander, however, had meanwhile ascertained that he was still in league with Poros and had intended joining forces with him in opposing the Greeks at the Hydaspes, being prevented from doing so only by the late arrival of his army. Angry at this duplicity, Alexander sent him a peremptory message

¹ Cf. Rapson, *Ancient India*, p. 92.

² Arrian's *Anabasis*, Chinnock, pp. 247 and 279.

³ Vincent A. Smith, *Early History of India*, 3rd ed. (1914), pp. 55 and 63.

threatening to invade his territory if he did not present himself in person. On this occasion also his brother came with the envoys bringing a present in money and forty elephants as a tribute. We are not told if Ābisāres complied with the order, but on Alexander's return from the Biās he was met at the Chināb, probably south of Aknūr, by messengers from Abisāres, along with his brother and other relations, bringing valuable gifts, including elephants, thirty in number. They declared that Ābisāres was unable to come owing to illness, and this was confirmed by the ambassadors from Alexander. Believing this to be true Alexander conferred on Ābisāres the honour of Viceroy, placing under him Arsakes the king of Uraśa or Hazāra, who also had presented himself at the Chināb with gifts, seemingly in company with the other envoys. It would thus appear that Ābisāres was lord-paramount over the whole of the outer hills, from the Chināb to the Indus; and his capital may have been at Rājapurī, as Abhisāra proper is supposed to have been the country occupied at a later time by the States of Rājaurī and Bhimbar.¹

Dārvābhisāra is next referred to historically in the *Rājatarāṅgi* (I. 180), at a period about the second century, in the reign of Rāja Abhimānyu I of Kashmīr. He, it is stated, was in the habit of spending the cold season in Dārvābhisāra owing to the great severity of the Kashmīr winters, due it was said to the anger of the Nāgas at their worship having been abandoned in favour of Buddhism. The tract must then have been a province of Kashmīr. Probably none of the States which existed in the tract in later times had then been founded, and it may have been under the rule of Rānas and Thākurs or rulers bearing similar titles, as Uraśa to the west and Durgara to the east are said to have been; possibly under the supremacy of Kashmīr.²

Rājapurī was visited by Hiuen Tsiang—the Chinese Pilgrim—in A.D. 633. He came down from Kashmīr by way of Punch and some days later reached Rājapurī, which was then subject to Kashmīr. He states the distance from Punch to Ho-lo-she-pu-lo or Rājapura at 400 *li* or 67 miles. The circuit of the district is described as 4,000 *li* or 667 miles, which is about double the true amount.

His reference to the district is as follows:—(*Si-yu-ki*, trans., Vol. I, pp. 163 ff.).

“This kingdom is about 4,000 *li* in circuit: the capital town is about 10 *li* round. It is naturally very strong, with many

¹ Arrian's *Anabasis*, pp. 298, 315, Chinnock's Trans.

² The tract formerly called Dārvābhisāra is now called Chibhān or Chibhāl—so named from the Chibh tribe which at a later time founded the States of Bhimbar and Kari Kariyāl.

mountains, hills and river-courses, which cause the arable land to be contracted. The produce, therefore, is small. The climate and the fruits of the soil are like those of Pun-nu-tso (Punch). The people are quick and hasty; the country has no independent ruler, but is subject to Kāshmir. There are ten *Saṅghārāmas* (*i.e.*, Buddhist Monasteries), with a very small number of priests. There is one temple of Devas with an enormous number of unbelievers."

"From the country of Lan-po (*i.e.*, Lamghān) till this, the men are of a coarse appearance, their disposition fierce and passionate, their language vulgar and uncultivated, with scarce any manners or refinement. They do not properly belong to India but are frontier people with barbarous habits."

Sir A. Cunningham has the following comment on the above:—"The circuit of the district is described as 4,000 *li* or 667 miles, which is about double the true amount, unless, as is not improbable, the whole of the hill-states as far as the Rāvi be included within its boundaries."

"The district of Rājaurī proper is nearly a square of about 40 miles each side, bounded on the north by the Pīr Panjāl, on the west by Punch, on the south by Bhimbar, and on the east by Rihāsi and Aknūr. By extending its boundary on the east to the Chinab and on the south to the plains, it would include all these petty places but even then its frontier would not be more than 240 miles, or by road about 320 miles. But if the frontier of these hill-states, subject to Kāshmir, be extended to the Rāvi on the east, the circuit would be about 420 miles measured on the map, or not less than 560 miles by road."

After the visit of the Chinese Pilgrim we find no reference to the territory till "A.D. 850, in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (IV, 712). We there read that "Nara and other merchants, who were in possession of spotless horses and owned villages, ruled Dārvābhisāra and the neighbouring regions, setting up (their own) thrones." From this it would appear that the tract was still under Kāshmir suzerainty, and the rulers referred to may have been of the same class as the Rānas and Thākurs of the outer hills, corresponding to the Damaras of Kāshmir, who were the actual rulers, at that period, though usually under a paramount power.

From a later reference (*Rājatarāṅg.* VII, 1282), we learn that Nara was the ancestor of the Lohara family, which in A.D. 1003, succeeded to the throne of Kāshmir. He was probably the founder of the Parnotsa or Punch State, of which Lohara seems to have been the original capital. It thus appears that from an

early period, possibly before the beginning of the Christian era, Dārvābhisāra, like other hill tracts, was under the suzerainty of Kashmīr.

A later reference to this suzerainty occurs in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (V, 141) of the reign of Śaṅkara-varman (A.D. 883-902). The State of Lohara or Punch had been founded shortly before this by Nara, a Khaśa lord, as already mentioned, and he was succeeded by his son, Nara-vāhana. Soon after his accession Śaṅkara-varman undertook a military expedition in the outer hills, and crossed the Pīr Panjāl Range, probably by the Toṣa-maidan Pass, to Lohara. On hearing of his approach Naravāhana fled with his troops into the mountain defiles, and Śaṅkara-varman marched on to the plains. On his return from this expedition, Naravāhana seems to have made his submission and was treacherously slain along with those in attendance on him. Naravāhana may then have been the overlord of all Dārvābhisāra, under Kashmīr suzerainty, from which he wanted to free himself: as it is stated that Śaṅkaravarman suspected treachery on his part. In the reference there is no mention of a Rāja of Rājapurī, and the State had probably not then been founded.

According to the vernacular history, the founder of the Rājapurī State was Jira Pāl, a younger brother of Jhet Pāl, the founder of Nurpur State, hence the clan name of Jirāl and Jiriāl. This may have been about A.D. 970 or 980. The first Rāja of the State referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VI, 348-352) was Prithvī Pāla, about A.D. 990, in the reign of Queen Diddā, widow of Kashemagupta, who on the death of her husband, son and grandsons, usurped the royal power in Kashmīr.

The ruler of Rājaurī about A.D. 970 had, like many other hill chiefs of that time, sought to assert his independence, and a force was sent against him under the Minister, Phalguna, which reduced the country to submission. On Phalguna's decease, about A.D. 1000, the ruling chiefs, Prithvī-pāla, was encouraged to rebel and a force was again sent against the country, which was attacked in a narrow mountain defile and almost destroyed. Enraged at this occurrence, Tunga, the new Kashmīr Minister, suddenly penetrated into Rājapurī by another route and burnt down the capital. By this diversion Prithvī-pāla was defeated, being probably taken in rear, and the remains of the other army were rescued from their difficult position. The king of Rājapurī then agreed to pay tribute and the Kashmīr army retired; Tunga receiving a reward for his service.¹

² At that time Kashmīr was ruled by Queen Diddā—a

¹ *Rajatarang.*, Stein, VI, 348-354.

² *Rajat.*, VI, 355-361.

daughter of the Rāja of Lohara, whose mother was a Śālū princess of the ancient royal line, which had long ruled Kabul and the Panjab. A short time before her death she installed her nephew, Saṅgrāma, a son of her brother, Udaya of Lohara, as *Yuvarāja* or heir-apparent of Kashmīr, and on her decease he succeeded to the throne.

¹ About this time we find an interesting reference to Rājapuri in Alberuni's *Indica*. The invasions of Mahmud of Ghazni were then in progress, and Alberuni came to India in his train about A.D. 1016-7, and was present at the siege of Loharakotta, probably in A.D. 1021. After referring to the peak of Kularjak in the Pīr Panjāl probably Tatakuthi 15,524 ft., he says:—"The town Rājāwari is three *farsakh* distant from the peak. This is the farthest place to which our merchants trade and beyond which they never pass."

From the above it is clear that as early as the beginning of the eleventh century the town of Rājapuri was called Rājāwari which is evidently an intermediate form between Rājapuri and Rājauri. We may, therefore, assume that in ordinary usage the ancient form of Rājapuri had been dropped before this time. The further change from Rājāwari to Rājauri may have taken place gradually. In the later Chronicles down to Mughal times we find Rājapuri, except once where Rājavira occurs.

Moorcroft has Rajaor and Vigne Rājāwar, the latter being the name in use in the vernacular history of the State. Ferishta has Rājauri and Jahāngir uses Rajaor, so we may assume that the final form dates from before Akbar's time.

It is probable that Prithvīpāla reigned till about A.D. 1025 and was succeeded by Sahajapāla, who is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* (VII, 533) and reigned till about A.D. 1050. He was followed by his son, Saṅgrāmapāla, who was still a minor; and his uncle, Madanapāla, sought to usurp the throne. Saṅgrāmapāla's sister, who was probably grown up, fled to Kashmīr to seek help of king Kalaśa: accompanied by one of the Thākurs or local hill barons.

Accordingly, a force was sent under two commanders, named Jayānanda and Bijja. After the Rāja's uncle had been defeated and his army dispersed, the Kashmīr commander, Jayānanda, prolonged his stay in the country, thus exciting suspicion as to his intentions. Finally, he withdrew after receiving presents, leaving Bijja and the army under the pretext of ensuring security, but really to retain possession of the State; probably under Kalaśa's orders. Later on the uncle, Madanapāla, again raised a

¹ Alberuni's *Indica*, 1910, Vol. I, p. 208.

rebellion and was defeated and sent in chains to Kashmir. Sangrāmapāla seems to have had a long reign and is mentioned (VII, 588-90), among the hill chiefs who visited Kashmir in the winter of A.D. 1087-88 to do homage to Kalaśa. At that period Kashmir had extended her sway over all the States of the outer hills, from Chambā to the Indus, and it was in acknowledgment of this suzerainty that all these chiefs presented themselves in Śrīnagar. These chiefs were:—Kirtī, the lord of Babbāpura (Jammu); Āsaṭa, king of Champā (Chambā); Kalaśa, son of Tukka, lord of Vallāpura (Balōr or Basōhli); king Sangrāmapāla, lord of Rājapūrī (Rājaurī); Utkarśa, ruler of Lohara (Punch); Saṅgaṭa, king of Uraśa (Hazāra); Gambhīrasīha, chief of Kānda (not located); and the illustrious Uttamarāja, the ruler of Kāshṭhavāṭa (Keshtwār).

¹On Kalaśa's death in A.D. 1089, he was succeeded by his son Harṣha, and soon afterwards Sangrāmapāla of Rājapūrī became disaffected. The power of Kashmir was then on the wane, owing to internal dissensions and the Muhammadan invasions of the Punjab, and the hill Rājas all became restive under foreign control, and sought to make themselves independent. A force was sent against Sangrāmapāla under Sunna, the Prefect of Police, and a second force under Kandarpa, the Lord of the Gate. Sunna delayed for one and-a-half months near Lohara, and Harṣha becoming impatient addressed angry reproaches to Kandarpa who was engaged in bringing the discontented soldiers garrisoning Lohara castle under control. Stung by these reproaches Kandarpa set out in haste from Lohara though he had no supplies, taking a vow to fast till he had conquered Rājapūrī. The distance from Lohara to Rājapūrī is ordinarily four marches, but Kandarpa, travelling by mountain paths, took six days, fasting all the time. There was severe fighting in which two hundred of the Kashmir army and four hundred of the enemy, called Khaśas, were slain. In the evening Sunna with his forces arrived, after all the fighting was over, and Kalhana has some severe strictures on the timidity of the Prefect of Police, who he hints kept out of the way until all danger was past. On the rout of his army Sangrāmapāla gave in his submission, tendered homage and paid up the tribute due, and the Kashmir commander took his departure.

Towards the end of Harṣha's reign (VII, 1150-59), Sangrāmapāla again aroused suspicion and Harṣha led an expedition against him in person. Advancing into the territory he laid siege to the fort of Prithvīgiri which was probably near Rājapūrī.

After a month the garrison was in straits from want of supplies and Sangrāmāpāla then offered tribute and supplies which were refused. The Prefect of Police (Sunna) was then bribed to persuade Harṣha to retreat, and this ruse failing, his soldiers were incited to demand increased marching allowance. This demand could not be met, as the treasury was not with the army. Finally a false alarm was spread by the Prefect that the Turushkas or Muhammadans were advancing into the hills. Thereupon Harṣha, who had but little firmness and courage, raised his camp and marched off so hurriedly that his treasure and stores were all left on the road.

Political affairs in Kashmīr at this period were in a very unstable condition. With the extinction of the line of Utpala, the Lohara dynasty came to the throne. Queen Diddā, who may be regarded as the first of this line, was the widow of the last Rāja of the older line, and a princess of the Lohara family. A woman of great energy and capacity she virtually ruled the kingdom for nearly half a century. Her weak husband was completely in her hands, and on his death in A.D. 958, she assumed the office of guardian to her son, a minor, and later to his three sons, who were got out of the way. In A.D. 980 she ascended the throne in her own name and ruled for twenty-three years. A short time before her death she chose one of her nephews, named Sangramārāja, a son of her elder brother Udayarāja, the ruler of Lohara, as Yuvarāja or heir-apparent to the throne. He ruled from A.D. 1003 to 1028, during one of the most momentous periods of Indian history, covering the invasions of Mahmūd of Ghazni. This period saw the overthrow and complete extinction of the powerful Śāhi dynasty which had ruled Kabul and the Punjab for centuries.

On Sangrāmārāja's death, Anantadeva, his son, a weak but well-meaning ruler, succeeded, and had a long reign of more than fifty years, dying in A.D. 1081. In A.D. 1063, on the advice of his queen, he was persuaded to abdicate in favour of his son, Kalaśa; but very soon after he had reason to regret the step he had taken, and resumed full power. During the remainder of his life there was strong friction between son and father, sometimes verging on rebellion; and in the end, Ananta, in A.D. 1081, in a fit of depression, committed suicide, his queen becoming *sati*. During his reign the supremacy of Kashmīr was extended over most of the States of the outer hills. Kalaśa succeeded and ruled till A.D. 1089. His father and mother's tragic death seems to have made a deep impression on him and led to a change in his character and conduct. He ruled with energy and extended the supremacy of Kashmīr over a great part of the outer hills.

This is confirmed, as already stated, by the fact that in the winter of A.D. 1087-88 no fewer than eight hill chiefs presented themselves in Śrīnagar to do homage to their lord-paramount,—embracing the whole country from Chambe on the Rāvi to Uraśa on the Indus.

Kalaśa was succeeded by his son Harṣha whose reign was marked by acts of tyranny and oppression, the confiscation of property and profligate expenditure, which alienated the minds of the people from him and encouraged the two Lohara princes, Uchchala and Sussala, near relatives of his own, to aspire to the throne. They were descended from Queen Diddā's younger brother—Kāntirāja of Lohara, just as Harṣha was from the elder brother, Udayarāja.

¹ Harṣha's relentless persecution and massacre of the Lāmaras—the nobility of Kashmīr—completed the ruin of his dynasty. Suspicion was aroused against Uchchala and Sussala that they aspired to the throne, and they fled: Uchchala to Rājapūrī and Sussala to a State in the outer hills, called Kālinjara² which has not been exactly located. Harṣha then sent a message to Saṅgrāmapāla of Rājapūrī asking him to kill Uchchala and offered money; but this was refused, and for a time Uchchala was well treated. Meanwhile messengers came from the Lāmaras, whom Harṣha's severity had driven into rebellion, inviting Uchchala to return to Kashmīr. Saṅgrāmapāla also encouraged him to do so, till one of his own officers,—the chief Thakkura of that territory, who was in Harṣha's pay gained his ear privately and turned him against Uchchala. It was then arranged that the latter was to be seized next morning by the Thakkura while on a visit. Uchchala, however, discovered the plot and did not go. The Thakkura then attacked him and, while fighting was going on, Saṅgrāmapāla appeared on the scene and intervened, asking Uchchala to go to his own audience hall. This he did, shaking off his own attendants who wished to keep him back; and, burning with anger at the perfidy practised on him, he confronted the Rāja and reproached him.

Kalhana's description of the scene has such a vivid and dramatic setting that one can easily picture the young prince standing before the assembly and uttering the following words, containing the pedigree of his family, in accents of fierce indignation. (*Rajatar.*, VII. 1282-1287.)

“Long ago there lived as king of Dārvābhisāra, Nara, a descendant of *Bharadvāja*, his son was *Naravāhana* who begot

¹ *Rajatar.* VII, 1248-1289.

² This place is referred to by Ferishta, Vol. I. pp. 89-99 *cité Rajatar.*, VII, 1254. It was probably in the lower Tobi Valley.

Phulla. The latter begot *Sātavāhana* : from him sprung *Chaula*, his son was *Chandurāja*, who also had two sons, called *Gopāla* and *Siṃharāja* : *Siṃharāja*, who had many sons, gave his daughter, *Diddā*, to King *Kṣemagupta* in marriage. She, being left without a husband or male children, placed *Samgrāmavāja*, the son of her brother, *Udayarāja*, on the throne. Another brother of her's, *Kāntirāja*, begot *Jassarāja*. *Samgrāmavāja* was the father of *Ananta* and *Jassarāja* of *Taarungā* and *Gungā*. From *Ananta* was born king *Kalaśa*, and from *Gungā* was born *Malla*. From *Kalaśa* were born *Harṣadeva* and the rest, and thus we from *Malla*. Then, when this is the pedigree, how can foolish persons ask, Is this one [of the princes of Kashmīr] ?

¹ Before leaving *Rājapurī* *Uchchala* was again attacked and lost some of his men. He then marched into Kashmīr *via* *Lohara* and the *Toṣi-Maidān* Pass : while his brother, *Sussala*, entered the valley from another direction : and *Harṣha* and his son, *Bhoja*, were killed and *Uchchala* became king. *Harṣha*'s grandson, *Bhikṣhāchara*, then a child, was smuggled out of Kashmīr by the princess, *Asamatī* and taken to *Mālwa*, and we shall hear of him again in connection with *Rājapurī*.

Sangrāmāpāla died about A.D. 1104-05 and was succeeded by his second son, *Somapāla*, after displacing his elder brother *Pratāpāpāla* and throwing him into prison. *Uchchala* was much displeased at this, but does not seem to have made any effort to restore the rightful heir and for some years there is no reference to *Rājapurī* in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*.

In A.D. 1112, *Uchchala* was killed and *Sussala*, his brother, and the leader of the revolt, succeeded to the throne. Soon afterwards *Bhikṣhāchara*, grandson of *Harṣha*, returned from *Mālwa*, and meeting some hill chiefs at *Kurukshetra*, he was welcomed by them and encouraged in his design to recover the throne of Kashmīr. After an unsuccessful attempt by one of his adherents in the *Chināb* Valley, he retired to *Chambā* where he resided for four years. He was then invited by a *Thakkura* on the *Chandrābhāga*, and stayed there for some time, awaiting the development of events. ² Meanwhile fresh trouble had arisen in *Rājapurī* in consequence of *Somapāla* having put his elder brother to death. *Nāgapāla*, a young brother of *Somapāla*, then fled to Kashmīr to crave help from *Sussala*. *Somapāla* made friendly overtures to gain the latter's favour, but these were rejected, and *Sussala* determined on invading the country. When *Somapāla* saw that his overtures were fruitless he sent and called *Bhikṣhāchara* from *Vallāpura* (*Balor*). This, however, instead of frightening *Sussala*,

¹ *Rajatar*, VII, 1297, *et seq.*

² *Rajatar.*, Stein, VIII, 619, *et seq.*

as seems to have been expected, only increased his anger, and he set out with an army to attack Rājapurī. Somapāla being unable to make a stand fled, and Sussala then installed Nāgapāla as Rāja and remained seven months.

The people of Rājapurī, however, remained faithful to Somapāla and refused to accept the new ruler, and on Sussala's retirement, Nāgapāla accompanied him to Kashmīr, having lost the throne. This took place in A.D. 1119. (*Rajatar.*, VIII, 634-5.)

Soon afterwards another political crisis took place in Kashmīr. Like Harsha, whom Kalhana calls "that Turushka" on account of his spoliation of temples, Sussala also began to stir up disaffection against himself by oppression of his people. ¹ Finding a favourable opportunity, for which he had been waiting, Bhikshāchāra, in A.D. 1120, supported by some hill chiefs, advanced into Kashmīr by the route of Visalāta, and the Banihāl Pass, and after much fighting regained his ancestral throne, which he retained for six months only. We are not told the names of the hill chiefs in alliance with him, but most probably Somapāla of Rājapurī was one of them. Bhikshāchāra soon gave himself up to sensual pleasures and fell into the hands of favourites who mismanaged the State. The support of those who had welcomed him was alienated and they began to intrigue for Sussala's return. On his defeat Sussala had retired to Lohara and Bhikshāchāra sent an army against him by way of Rājapurī, to which Somapāla furnished a contingent. Before this time the practice had become common among Hindu rulers of calling in to their aid in their mutual quarrels, Turushka or Muhammadan mercenaries, from the Punjab. Accordingly, we read that on this occasion such a band of mercenaries was present in Bhikshāchāra's army, called in probably by Somapāla. The leader of the band is called Sāllāra Vismaya by Kalhana, of which the first name we may understand as the Persian title "Sālār", meaning commander-in-chief, and he is again mentioned later.

²The attack on Lohara, as Sir A. Stein points out, was made from the south *via* Rājapurī, partly because Somapāla was an old ally of Bhikshāchāra and partly because the condition of the Toṣa-Maidān and other high passes over the Pīr Panchāl in that direction would make a direct attack from the north impossible in winter.

The poet has some jocular remarks about the composition of the force. The Turushkas, we are told, came very boastfully, each of them with a rope in his hand to bind Sussala, and adds, "who indeed would not have thought this coalition of Kashmīr,

¹ *Rajatar.*, VIII, 684, *et seq.*

² *Ibidem*, 884-887 and 916 ff.

Khaśa and Mlechha forces capable of uprooting everything." The whole force was under the command of *Bimba*, the chief minister of Bhikṣhāchara. It advanced from Rājapurī to Parnotsa (Punch), where Sussala with his army was awaiting the attack, assisted by his ally, the chief of Kālinjara. It was the month of Baisākh (March-April), A.D. 1121, and the battle was fought on the bank of the Vitola (Bitarh), close to the town of Punch. Sussala was completely victorious and the Kashmirians shamelessly went over to him when Somapāla with the Khaśas and the mercenaries had retreated. He then crossed the passes into Kashmīr and was joined by many of his old adherents, and Bhikṣhāchara, being again defeated, retreated to Pushiāna on the south side of the Pīr Panjāl, and within the Rājapurī State.

In the Autumn of A.D. 1121, Bhikṣhāchara again entered Kāshmir from Pushiāna, assisted doubtless by his ally, Somapāla, but after much fighting he failed to secure a footing and retired once more to Pushiāna, at the southern foot of the Pīr Panjāl Pass. From there he continued to make inroads into Kashmīr, with varying fortune, for several years. (*Rajatar.*, VIII, 968 sq.)

In A.D. 1128, Sussala was murdered and his head sent to Bhikṣhāchara, who forwarded it to Somapāla. There was much discussion as to what should be done with it, but in the end Nāgapāla, who had become reconciled to Somapāla, from feelings of gratitude to his benefactor, pleaded that the head should not be dishonoured, and it was burnt on black aloe and sandal wood. (*Rajatar.*, VIII, 1457 sq.)

Jayasimha succeeded his father and continued the struggle for the throne with Bhikṣhāchara, who still had the active support of Somapāla of Rājapurī. His support, however, does not seem to have been wholly disinterested, as hopes were privately held out to him, by some of the Dāmaras or local barons, of being himself recognised as ruler of Kashmīr. Ultimately Bhikṣhāchara, after sustaining several severe reverses, was compelled to retire from Kashmīr, and was then abandoned by his friends, including Somapāla. On his being refused a refuge in Rājapurī, he went to his father-in-law's state of Vārtula, to the south of the Banihāl Pass, and in A.D. 1030 the fort in which he was living was surrounded by those sent to capture him and he died fighting to the last. (*Rajatar.*, VIII, 1702 sq.)

Meanwhile Somapāl had concluded a treaty with Jayasimha and a double marriage alliance took place between the two families, Somapāla receiving Jayasimha's daughter and giving his own sister's daughter in return.

But although Somapāla had outwardly made peace with the king of Kāshmir, he did not cease plotting against him. He

was invited to Lohara by Lothana, a near relative of Jayasimha's, who was in revolt, and offered Somapāla a rich reward for his help. Somapāla assented to the arrangement, saying to himself : "If but Lothana gives great riches, what regard need I pay to the relationship (with Jayasimha). Else I shall cunningly tell the others that I am on their side." (*Rājatar.*, VIII, 1851-2-3.) Kallhana commenting upon this transaction writes : "That disreputable (prince) in the greediness of his mind was, notwithstanding the relationship into which he had entered, planning treason against the king, who was sinking under great calamities."

Somapāla was evidently trying to play off the one against the other to his own advantage, but he was doomed to disappointment ; for although he gained by joining Lothana, his son, Bhūpāla soon afterwards rebelled and drove him out of the State. In his extremity he sought the protection of Jayasimha and after he had given two sons of Nagapāla, his brother, as hostages, the king promised him help and sent an army which restored him to power. But even then he was not grateful, and when a rebellion was being fomented against Jayasimha he gave no help, while his son on the other hand had the leader of the rebellion plundered by the hillmen on his way from the plains.

The last mention of Somapāla in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* is in connection with the marriage of his son, Bhūpāla, to Menilā, the eldest daughter of the king of Kashmir, about A.D. 1145. Somapāla then made over the State to his son and may have died soon after, having reigned for more than forty years. Kallhana has little that is good to say of Somapāla. He accuses him of greed almost amounting to avarice, unfaithfulness in the fulfilment of his engagements, and ingratitude for kindness, but he passes equally severe condemnation on the whole inhabitants of Rājapuri, whose deceitfulness seems almost to have been proverbial (*Rājatar.*, VIII, 1531). Only the Darads or people of Dardistans, north of the Zojilā, surpassed them, he states, in that bad quality.

Jayasimha of Kashmir died in A.D. 1154 and was followed by a succession of weak kings, and from this period we may date the decline of Kashmir ascendancy over the hill States, which had existed off and on for many centuries. The hill chiefs all assumed independence, and perhaps this may explain the fact that references to them are few in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇīs* of Jonarāja and subsequent writers.

Bhūpāla of Rājapuri succeeded between A.D. 1145 and 1149, but of the events of his time we know almost nothing. He probably kept on good terms with Kāshmir and we read of no more wars between the two States. Rājapuri is many times mentioned

casually in the chronicle of Jonarāja and later chronicles, but no details are given. The last reference is in the reign of Ghāzi Shah, A.D. 1560.

The first mention of the State by Jonarāja is in the reign of Sangrāmadeva of Kashmīr (A.D. 1236-52). On the outbreak of a rebellion led by some of the Pāmaras or hill barons and others, the king lost heart and fled "to the peaceful king of Rājapurī." He seems to have been pursued and a battle was fought near the town of Rājapurī in which the rebels were defeated, and thus Sangrāmadeva regained his kingdom, doubtless with the help of his ally.

In A.D. 1339, the Hindu line of Rajas in Kashmīr came to an end and an adventurer, named Shāh Mir, one of the former Rāja's ministers, seized the throne. After him succeeded a line of Muhammedan kings. One of these was 'Alī Shāh (A.D. 1413-20), whose younger brother was Shādi Khān, better known as Zain-ul-Ābidīn. A short time after his accession 'Alī Shāh formed the resolution of going on pilgrimage and appointed his younger brother, Shādi Khān, to the management of the State. On his arrival at Jammu, the Rāja of which place was his father-in-law, he was dissuaded from carrying out his purpose and advised to return to Kashmīr and resume his position as ruler. To this, however, his two younger brothers objected and the Rājas of Jammu and Rajauri gathered an army to reinstate him. Shādi Khān was compelled to flee from Kashmīr and seek refuge with a chief, named Jasrat Khokhar. The chronicle of Śrīvara tells us that 'Alī Shāh was angry with Jasrat Khokhar for giving shelter to his brother and marched against him. It appears that on this occasion the Rāja of Rajauri sided with Shādi Khān; for on his arrival in that territory, 'Alī Shāh laid it waste, though Jonarāja says he should have taken it under his protection. He was, however, defeated and fled into Kashmīr and disappeared. Shādi Khān was then installed in his stead as Zain-ul-Ābidīn and reigned for fifty-two years. He was one of the most famous of the Muhammedan rulers of Kashmīr and it was towards the middle of his reign that an alliance took place with Rājapurī, which ultimately resulted in the accession of a Muhammedan dynasty. It is probable that, some time before this, Muhammedan influence had spread all through the outer hills and many of the people had embraced that faith.

Rājapurī seems to have been still tributary to Kashmīr and its Rājas received the symbols of royalty from the ruler of that country. Before Zain-ul-Ābidīn therefore we are told appeared Jayasīnha and was installed as Rāja and received charge of "the beautiful kingdom of Rājapurī." Probably Sundera Sena the

next Raja mentioned and one of the last of his line, was Jayasinha's grandson and we may fix his accession at about A.D. 1450. The practice had then begun of tributary Hindu chiefs sending a daughter to the harem of the lord-paramount, and it is related that Sundera Sena sent his eldest daughter, Rajya Devi, to Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidin. On her arrival in Kashmir the king was engaged in sport on the Woollar Lake, and seeing the lady's party coming, he asked one of his attendants the question: "What mother's *doli* is that." On hearing that it was the Rajauri princess sent to him, he said: "As I have already called her 'mother', how can I receive her as a wife." She was, therefore, sent to the harem, where she afterwards became a Muhammadan and the Rajwīr or Rajaurī Kadal, a bridge over the Mar Canal in Srinagar, was built by her.

Sundera Sena then sent his second daughter also to the king and she too became a Muhammadan. Her name was Sundera Devi, but the people called her Sunderma ji. She bore a son called Ādam Khān, generally known as the "Wali", being the eldest son, and his elder son was named Faṭh Khān. As he was not on good terms with his father and his brother, Haidar Khān, the king appointed him commander of an expedition against the Darads and his brother, Haji Khān or Haidar Khān, governor of the outer hills, including Punch and Rajauri. On his father's death he claimed the throne but was defeated and retired to the plains where he had a younger son, named Sikandar Khān Sāni, whose son was named Sher Afkūn.

During the reign of his brother, Haidar Shāh, who succeeded his father in Kashmir, Ādam Khān came to Jammu where he induced the Rāja to support his claim to Kashmir, but he was shortly afterwards (cA.D. 1472) killed in a skirmish with a party of Mughals, leaving his elder son, Faṭh Khān, to prosecute his claim. Faṭh Khān at a later date became king of Kashmir, and by his aid, Nur Shāh or Nīl Sīh, son of Sher Afkūn and grandson of Sikandar Khān Sāni, obtained possession of Rajauri, by conquering the country and marrying the Rāja's daughter. The Rāja referred to must have been later than Sundara Sena, possibly his son or grandson, and his date is about A.D. 1500. From this time onwards Rajauri was ruled by a succession of Muhammadan chiefs in undisturbed possession, each bearing a Hindu name in addition to his own proper name.

In the foregoing narrative we have followed the account given by Cunningham, but have not been able to ascertain his authority. It differs considerably from that in the vernacular history. There we are told that the family were ruling in Kalanour about A.D. 1193-96 when Muhammad Ghori invaded the

Punjab. After opposing him and being defeated the Rāja of the time named Sahib Sīnh was won over and embraced Islam, along with his son Nīl Sīnh, receiving the names respectively of Sher Afkūn Khān and Nurud-dīn Khān. Soon afterwards they moved into the outer hills and conquered Rajauri from the Pala dynasty previously in possession, and became rulers of the State.

There are, however, several points in this record which are not in agreement with historical facts. We know from the later Rājataranginī that there were Hindu Rājas of Rajauri down to a much later date than A.D. 1193 and Jahāngīr in his Memoirs states that the family became Muhammadan in the time of Firoz Shāh Tughlak (A.D. 1356-88). It is also noteworthy that the names of the Rājas in the vernacular narrative, *viz.*, Sher Afkūn and Nur Shāh or Nīl Sīnh are the same as those given by Cunningham, who are recorded to have ruled about A.D. 1475-1500, and in both accounts Nur Shāh or Nīl Sīnh is said to have been the first Muhammadan Rāja of Rajauri. It is also interesting, and confirmatory of Cunningham's version, that the Rajvir or Rāzvir Kadal (bridge), said to have been built by a Rajauri princess, is still in existence on the Mār Canal in Srinagar.

There is one point which somewhat weakens the credibility of Cunningham's version, making the Muhammadan dynasty date from about A.D. 1500. There were thirteen Rājas in succession from Nur Shāh or Nīl Sīnh to Tājūd-dīn Khān who died in A.D. 1646 and was a contemporary of Shāhjahān.

This gives an average reign of only eleven years, which is much below the average of most of the other hill States. There were eight Rājas after Tājūd-dīn with an average of twenty-five years, and the average over the whole period from A.D. 1500 to 1846, when the State was overturned, is about seventeen years. It, therefore, seems probable that the change of dynasty may have taken place in the time of Firoz Shah as stated by Jahāngīr. Here we must leave the question for the present, but further research may throw more light upon it.

We are fortunate in having a very full record of the period covered by the Muhammadan dynasty, compiled by a member of the Rajauri royal family, and from it most of the subsequent information in this paper is taken. We desire to acknowledge our great indebtedness to Rāja the Honourable Ikrām Ullah Khān of Wazīrābād for so courteously placing this family record at our disposal. As already stated, the first member of the new

¹ Archaeolog. Survey Report, Vol. XIV, p. 106 ff.

² According to Ferishta Sikandar Khān was the son of Fath Khān, but there seems to have been another of the same name called Sikandar Khān Sāni, the younger son of Ādam Khān, whose grandson was Nur Shāh or Nīl Sīnh.

dynasty to acquire the ruling power in the State was Nur Shāh, or Nur Sinh or Sih, whose full name was Nur-ud-dīn Khān. He probably had a short reign and indeed the same seems to have been the case with a good many of his successors. There are no details regarding the events of his reign, and on his death he was succeeded by his son, Bahā-ud-dīn Khān, also called Bhāg Sinh or Sih.

Bhāg Sih is said to have extended the boundaries of the State, probably towards the south, and to have erected some fine buildings in the capital. He was followed by his son, Anwar Khān, called Awardan Sinh.

Anwar Khān spent most of his time in sport of every kind of which he was very fond. In order to leave himself free for his favourite amusement, he appointed one brother to the command of the army and the other to the administration of the State. Towards the end of his reign realising that his brothers might not be willing to surrender the power, which they had so long exercised, and that the army and the State officials might not be ready to accept his son on his own demise, he summoned all of them to his presence. He then appointed Haibat Khān or Haibat Sinh, his son, as his successor by applying the *tika* to his forehead in saffron, and ordered all present to present their *nazars* (tribute), as is customary on such occasions. Thereafter he placed the young Rāja's hand in the hands of his brothers, and took a promise from them that they would be loyal and faithful. This promise was faithfully kept during the Rāja's minority and on coming of age he took over the administration. Nothing eventful seems to have happened in his reign. Sirdār Khān or Ratan Sinh succeeded and of him it is recorded that he was exceedingly inert and indifferent to State affairs. The rulers of the neighbouring States took advantage of this and invaded the territory, much of which was lost. He had only one son, Shāhsawār Khān, or Sañsār Sinh who succeeded him.

This chief was more manly and energetic than his father and under him most of the lost territory was recovered. He was fond of sport and delighted in the pursuit of big game.

Daulat Khān or Daulat Sinh was also warlike and most of his reign was spent in making raids on neighbouring States, and in repelling attacks upon his own. He lived mostly in the field, and in the simplest manner like one of his own soldiers, and was fond of marching on foot. He recovered all the remaining territory that had been lost.

Shāhzamān Khān or Chak Sinh, the next Rāja, had three sons, and being fond of the two younger he settled them in separate *jāgirs*, and granted them the title of Rai, which their descendants still hold.

In this reign the Rajauri Chief was called upon to provide a contingent to aid Kashmīr in the invasion of Baltistān or Little Tibet, and a force was sent under the heir-apparent, Shāhābuddīn. After subduing the country the Commander of the Kashmīr army, named Rai Makari, rebelled, and an army had to be sent from Kashmīr to coerce him, in which the Rajauri force was also present. This invasion is recorded in Ferishta as having taken place in the reign of Sikandar Butshikan of Kashmīr (A.D. 1396-1416).

Shāhābuddīn who followed his father had an uneventful reign, and added to the State revenues by breaking up new land and bringing it under cultivation. He had three sons of whom Bahrām Khān was the eldest and heir-apparent. The others were settled in *jāgīrs*.

Bahrām Khān or Bahrām Sīnh on succeeding spent most of his time in hunting, to the neglect of State affairs which fell into disorder. He also wasted much money on the purchase of hunting dogs and in the enjoyment of his favourite pastime, and those officers were held in highest regard who ministered to his love of sport. He had two sons of whom the elder, Burhān-ud-dīn succeeded on his decease.

Burhān-ud-dīn or Bairām Sīnh was very unlike his father, for he disliked exertion of every kind and lived a listless life. He had no sons till an advanced time of life when two were born. As his sons were still young when he felt his end approaching, he called together his officials and in their presence appointed his elder son, Ali Khān, as his successor, and conferred on him the symbols of royalty.

Ali Khān was only ten years of age when his father died and the administration was in the hands of his officials. As he grew older the Rāja developed a religious and contemplative disposition, and the habit grew upon him till worldly affairs became distasteful to him. At last in his twentieth year he abdicated in favour of his brother, Bahādur Khān, and became a *jaqīr*.

Bahādur Khān or Bahādur Sīnh, though young at the time of his accession, showed much capacity and also a fine spirit in all his relationships with his brother, to whom he referred in all important State affairs, and deferred to his advice. He had four sons of whom the eldest was Mast or Sarmast Khān.

Sarmast Khān (A.D. 1580) succeeded and according to the vernacular history his rule was contemporary with that of Akbar. Till A.D. 1586 Kashmīr had remained independent under its own rulers, but in that year Akbar sent an army to conquer the valley. In this it was unsuccessful and had to retreat. In the following year another force was despatched, under Muhammad Qāsim Khān. Before advancing into the hills he sent a letter to

the Rāja of Rajauri, asking his assistance and promising that he would be suitably rewarded. Mast Khān fell in with this proposal and went to meet the Mughal Commander, by whom he was well received.

The advance was then made through Rajauri and by way of the Pīr Panjāl Pass, and supplies and transport were provided by the Rāja, who himself accompanied the army with his own contingent. The road being blocked by the Kashmīr forces near a place called Darhal the Rāja pointed out another way by Nandan Sir which was little used, and on which the enemy had not posted a guard. On hearing of the advance of the Mughals by this route the Kashmīr force retired from their first position and left the road open. The Mughals thus crossed by the two passes and reunited on the northern slopes and advanced to Shupeyon; where they were opposed for three days, and severe fighting took place. But a movement on their flank compelled the Kashmīr army to fall back and a victory was gained.

The Rāja of Rajauri was then rewarded with a *khlāt* and a *jāgīr* of Rs. 50,000 value in Kashmīr, which his successors continued to hold in whole or in part till the extinction of the State.

In A.D. 1589. Akbar in person visited Kashmīr, and the Rāja met him on the border with suitable presents and was favourably received. Observing that the ruler, though a Muhammadan, bore the title of Rāja, the Emperor remarked that it should be exchanged for Nawāb. The Rāja replied that the title of Nawāb was unknown in the hills and begged to be allowed to retain the old title. This was granted but an order was given that all members of the ruling family under the Rāja should be addressed as Mirza, and this custom is still in force in the Rajauri family.

Akbar is said to have visited Kashmīr three times and always by way of Rajauri, and a fort was built at Naushahra for a garrison to guard the road. The State at that period must have been very extensive, ranging from the Pīr Panjāl on the north to the borders of Bhimbar on the south, with the Chināb to the east and Punch to the west.

Tājuddīn Khān or Chatar Sīnī (A.D. 1600) was the next in succession and ruled in the time of Jahāngīr, who visited Rajauri many times in going to and returning from Kashmīr. In his Memoirs we find one very interesting reference to the State, but unfortunately the name of the ruling Rāja is not mentioned. It is as follows :—¹ “ On Friday, the 8th (A.D. 1620) Rajaur was

¹ Elliot's History, Vol. VI., p. 376. also *Tāzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* or Memoirs of Jahāngīr, trans. by A. Rogers, edited by H. Beveridge, London, 1914. Vol. II. pp. 180 f.

the camping-ground. The people of this country were in old times Hindus, and the landholders are called Rājas. Sultan Fīroz made them Muhammadans but they are still called Rājas. They still have the marks of the times of ignorance. One of these is that just as some Hindu women burn themselves along with their husbands so these women are put into the grave along with their (dead) husbands. I heard that recently they put alive into the grave a girl of ten or twelve along with her (dead) husband, who was of the same age. Also when a daughter is born to a man without means they put her to death by strangulation. They ally themselves with Hindus and both give and take girls. Taking them is good, but giving them, God forbid. I gave an order that hereafter they should not do such things, and whoever was guilty of them should be capitally punished. There is a river at Rajaur. Its water during the rainy season becomes much poisoned. Many of the people there got a swelling under the throat, and are yellow and weak. The rice of Rajaur is much better than the rice of Kashmīr. There are self grown and sweet scented violet in this skirt of the hills."

Jahāngīr was evidently not much impressed with the people of Rajauri and regarded them as barbarous in their habits. To the Rāja was entrusted the care of the main road from the plains and he was ordered to build "Chaukis", and post guards all along the route to Kashmīr within the State. A fort was, therefore, built at Naushahra and placed in charge of his grandson, Ināyat Ullah Khān.

Soon afterwards the Rāja was called upon to furnish a contingent for an expedition in Baltistan which was placed under the command of Ināyat-Ullah Khān.

In A.D. 1644 Shāhjahān marched into Kashmīr by Rajauri and with him was his son, Aurangzeb. A halt was made in order that the Rāja's daughter, Rajbai, might be married to the young prince and her son was Mu'azam Shāh, also called Bahādur Shāh, who succeeded Aurangzeb on the throne of Delhi. Rāja Tājuddīn died in A.D. 1646 and was followed by his son, Hayāt Ullah Khān who reigned for only two years.

Ināyat Ullah Khān ("A.D. 1648). On succeeding to the *gaddi* he appointed his son, Hidāyat Ullah Khān, as officer in command of Naushahra, with the care of the road into Kashmīr, and applied himself to the organization of the State affairs. He arranged his army in two sections: first, a standing army receiving monthly allowances and always on duty, and second, the reserves, men residing in their own homes, but liable to be called up when necessary.

Wars were in those times of frequent occurrence between

neighbouring States, and a quarrel soon afterwards led to war with Jammu, owing to the latter State claiming the district of Mināwar, then forming a part of Rajauri. In the first encounter the Rajauri army was defeated, but a larger force was then sent, which overcame all resistance and captured the town of Jammu. On retiring, some bricks were taken from the old palace or Mandi and built into the Diwānkhana in Rajauri, and there they remained till 1845, when they were restored to their original place in Jammu by Raja Gulāb Singh on his conquest of Rajauri.

On the outbreak of civil war in A.D. 1657 between the sons of Shāhjahān, and the defeat of Dāra Shikoh and his flight to Lahore, letters were sent by him to the hill chiefs, calling upon them to join his army. Ināyat Ullah Khān being so closely related to Aurangzeb delayed taking any action, and finally joined Aurangzeb when he entered the Panjab, and remained with him till the end of the war. He was then dismissed with presents. On his return he took with him skilled workmen from the plains and erected some fine buildings in Rajauri, and also laid out a garden on the other side of the Tohi or Tawi, called Shāimār. He also erected the forts of Manāwar and Inderkot. The Emperor is said to have conferred on the Raja in *jāgīr*, the districts of Punch, Samlah, Manāwar, Kari-Kariāli, Bhimbar and Chibhān. He also confirmed the *sanat* granted by Akbar, conferring a *jāgīr* in Kashmīr on the family. As these territories were then ruled by their own Rājas the grants were probably only the paramountcy or superiority over these States.

Hidāyat-Ullah Khān (A.D. 1676) was indolent and indifferent about State affairs and left the administration in the hands of his brother, Rafi-Ullah Khān, who managed every thing in such a way that no loss was sustained. He died in 1703.

Azmat Ullah Khān (A.D. 1703) was only three years old when his father died and the administration remained in the hands of his uncle, Rafi-Ullah Khān, under the regency of the Rāni or queen-mother. In Inyat Ullah Khān's reign one Ajab Singh had been Wazīr, and still held office nominally, though exercising no authority. He was annoyed and angry that power had passed into the hands of Rafi-Ullah Khān, the Commander-in-Chief, and wished to regain it for himself. He, therefore, sought to instil suspicion into the mind of the queen-mother against Rafi-Ullah Khān and in his own interests, and she restored him to full power. The uncle being enraged began to plot against the Rāia, with the idea of getting him out of the way and seizing the State. Through his wife this came to the ears of the queen-mother, and she at once arranged to send the Rāja out of the State to Delhi, in charge of the Wazīr, and he was taken to the Rajauri princess married to

Mua'zam Shah. By her suitable arrangements were made for him. On learning of the Rāja's flight, Rafi-Ullah Khān assumed full power, and became virtual ruler of the State. He made his nephew, Lutf-Ullah Khān, Wazīr, and raised a force of 500 men well-mounted, and dressed in a special uniform, and made raids in the neighbouring States, not only in the hills but even as far as the plains.

When Azmat-Ullah Khān attained to years of discretion he asked permission from the Emperor to be allowed to return to his State. A message was then sent to Mirza Rafi-Ullah Khān to ascertain his intentions in the event of the Rāja's return, and he replied that everything would be made over to him. The Rāja was then dismissed by the Emperor, accompanied by a small force to escort him to Rajauri, and on his arrival he was welcomed by the officials and people. Rafi-Ullah Khān had previously retired to his estate.

Aurangzeb died soon afterwards (A.D. 1707) and civil war broke out between his sons, Mua'zam Shāh and Azam Shāh. Azmat-Ullah Khān took the side of the former, and joined him with his contingent. After Azam Shāh's defeat and death he asked permission to return home which was granted.

Rajauri at that time must have been a powerful and extensive principality, as there exist in the possession of the ruling family *sanads* from the Emperors, granting them *jāgīrs* in Punch, Bhimbar, Kari Karyāli and Kashmīr.

On the decline of the Mughal Empire and the cession of the Panjab to Ahmad Shāh Durāni in 1752, the State, like all the others in the Panjab hills, passed under Afghan control, and there seems to have been much good feeling between the Rājas and their new suzerains. In A.D. 1752, an Afghan force was sent to take possession of Kashmīr, where the Mughal Governor refused to submit. The Rāja of Rajauri received a letter asking him to send a contingent, which he did under the command of his son, Rahmat-Ullah Khān. On the completion of this campaign the young prince was taken seriously ill and died. This loss was a severe trial to the Rāja now in his 82nd year, and he did not long survive. He had reigned for sixty-two years. He was succeeded by his grandson Izzat-Ullah Khān, son of Rahmat-Ullah Khān.

Izzat-Ullah Khān (c.A.D. 1760). He ruled only five years and then died.

Karm-Ullah Khān A.D. 1765. During Azmat-Ullah Khān's later years the administration became weakened owing to the ruler's advanced age, and some of the neighbouring States took advantage of this to encroach on the territory. Karm-Ullah Khān determined to recover the lost territory and set about

reorganizing the army. This occupied several years. Territory had been lost in three directions—Bhimbar, Jammu and Punch. These States were all invaded at the same time by separate armies, which were unsuccessful. The Raja then decided to attack each State separately, and was about to do so when he became involved with the Durāni Governor of Kashmīr in a quarrel lasting seven years. About this time the Rāja of Punch died childless and without any direct heirs. The Wazīr of the State invited Karm-Ullah Khān to send his son, Agar-Ullah Khān to take possession. This was done and the prince was installed as Rāja, but was soon afterwards driven out on the death of the Wazīr, who had supported his claim, and a member of the Punch family was installed. Meanwhile the difference with Kashmīr remained and was accentuated by a demand from the governor for a Rajauri princess in marriage. This was refused and an invasion of Rajauri followed, but was repulsed. The following year another Kashmīr army advanced and laid siege to the capital, but it was so strongly fortified that the siege was abandoned on the approach of winter. Ultimately the governor proposed terms of peace which were accepted, and a friendly invitation having been offered to visit Kashmīr, the Rāja went with some misgiving, but was well treated and returned in safety. He was also on friendly terms with Rāja Ranjīt Dev of Jammu.

Rajauri had come under the supremacy of Kabul in 1752 along with the rest of the Panjab, and as we have seen was immediately subject to the Durāni governor of Kashmīr; and there are letters in the possession of the family from Ahmad Shāh Durāni. This subjection seems to have been opposed for a time, but friendly relations were afterwards formed with the Kashmīr governor, and during the later years of Karm-Ullah Khān's reign nothing eventful seems to have happened. The State, however, had declined in importance owing to the loss of territory in the reign of Azmat-Ullah Khān. The Raja died in 1808.

Agar-Ullah Khān (A.D. 1808). Karm-Ullah Khān had four sons, of whom Agar-Ullah Khān was the eldest. The officials and people were in favour of the succession of Rahīm-Ullah Khān, owing to the fact that his elder brother was born of a Hindu mother. On being approached, however, he declined to accept the *gaddi* while his elder brother was alive, and Agar-Ullah Khān was, therefore, installed as Rāja. This incident aroused a suspicion in the Rāja's mind that his brother had originated the proposal and gave rise to a coldness between them, which was accentuated by subsequent events.

Soon after his accession the Rāja sent Rahīm-Ullah Khān to Kashmīr as State Agent, and wrote privately to the governor

that he should not be allowed to return. He was, therefore, subjected to a measure of restraint by having a guard always in attendance upon him. After a time, however, he succeeded in making his escape and returned to his estate in Rajauri.

The rise of Sikh power on the plains was fraught with grave consequences to the Hill States, but those to the west of the Chināb, were less affected than the others, owing to the fact that the Western Panjab was late in coming under the control of the Sikhs. It was not till Ranjīt Singh rose to power that any attempt was made to subject the Muhammadan States of the Western Hills. One reason for this immunity may have been that Kashmīr was still under the Durāni, and their co-religionists of the outer hills were more or less under their protection. By 1810 Ranjīt Singh had fully established his rule on the plains, and only Multan, Peshawar, Kashmīr and Hazāra still maintained their connection with Kabul. On all these provinces he cast longing eyes.

The main road to Kashmīr lay through Bhimbar and Rajauri and the subjection of these States was, therefore, a necessary preliminary to the conquest of the valley. The first step was taken in 1810 when a force of 5,000 horsemen was sent against them, but the resistance offered by the Bhimbar Chief was so determined that the Sikhs did not advance any farther into the hills. The next attempt was made in 1812 when Bhimbar was subdued after a stubborn resistance, and tribute was exacted from Rajauri. Shortly afterwarde the chiefs rebelled and a force was sent against them and they were again defeated. In 1812 the Maharaja made his first attempt to conquer Kashmīr and a letter was addressed to the Rajauri Chief inviting friendly relations and disavowing any intention to subvert the State. The Rāja promised his assistance, but the expedition was unsuccessful, as was also a second in 1813.

Preparations were made for a third expedition in the autumn of the same year, and in June 1814, the Maharaja advanced into the hills and reached Rajauri. The Rāja on being asked placed everything at his service, and rendered substantial help in the early stages of the campaign. On hearing this the Afghan governor of Kashmīr sent a messenger with a letter, earnestly entreating him to be faithful to his religion. He was won over and secretly did all in his power to retard the advance and harass the Sikhs, by sending out his men in the dress of peasants to cut off stragglers and supplies and create a panic. By this time the rainy season had set in and the Sikhs could not bear up against the cold, or withstand the attacks of the Afghans. It soon became evident that there was no alternative but retreat.

Many of the superior officers and a large number of men perished, and all the baggage was lost. It is even said that the Maharaja himself escaped with difficulty.

The Sikh officers represented to Ranjīt Singh that their misfortunes were due chiefly to the double part played by Agar-Ullah Khān, and in retaliation a large force was sent in 1815 to punish the State. The capital was besieged, but could not be taken till guns were brought from the plains with which the walls were battered down. Seeing resistance to be hopeless the Raja escaped towards Kotali. The town was then looted and the country laid waste for many miles around.

On the departure of the Sikhs Agar-Ullah Khān returned and did his best to restore the town, but the fortifications were in too ruinous a condition for repair.

After such a disaster time was required to make the necessary preparations for another attempt to capture Kashmīr, and it was not till the spring of 1819 that an advance was made. As Agar-Ullah Khān was still in revolt, an officer was in 1818 deputed by the Maharaja to approach Mirza Rahīm-Ullah Khān and offer him the chiefship of Rajauri, if he undertook to be loyal to the Sikh cause and give every assistance in the coming campaign. He was told that failing this the State would be overturned and annexed. He consented to wait on the Maharāja then in Wazirābad, and was there installed as Raja and sent back to Rajauri.

Rahīm-Ullah Khān (A.D. 1818). In April 1819, the Sikh army advanced into the hills and occupied Rajauri and Punch. Agar-Ullah Khān and the Punch Raja, who were on the side of the Afghans, held the approaches to the passes of the Pīr Panjāl, while Rahīm-Ullah Khān joined the Sikhs and gave every assistance in his power. It is said that he pointed out passes by which a crossing was effected and the Afghans were driven back and dispersed. Kashmīr then became a province of the Sikh kingdom. For these services the Raja was suitably rewarded and some time later a *jāgīr* was granted him in Kashmīr. Raja Agar-Ullah Khān was captured in the spring of 1820 by Raja Gulāb Singh of Jammu, who had been appointed for this duty, and was sent to Lahore where he was confined till his death in 1825.

In the Autumn of 1823, Rajauri was visited by William Moorcroft on his way from Kashmīr to Bukhara. He has the following note: "The town of Rajaor formed the limit of our next day's march; there was nothing on the road particularly worthy of note. From same spots the whole range of the Ratan Panchal was in sight, and the peaks to the eastward, where they seemed to unite with those of the Pīr Panchal, were much loftier

than those near where we had crossed and were tipped with snow. At Rajaor we were detained four days by Mr. Trebeck labouring under indigestion, which confined him to the house. We were lodged in the Raja's dwelling, a substantial stone edifice, the interior of which had been stripped of everything valuable by the Sikhs. They had also demolished the old wall of the city, which appeared to have been of great solidity. The town stands upon the side of a hill and along the east runs a small stream, called here the Malkani Tihoi; on the opposite side was a garden laid out in imitation of Shalimar, but it had been demolished by the Sikhs. The bazar is small but clean and well supplied."

"The present Raja of Rajaor, Rahim-Ullah Khān, was the half brother of the preceding Raja, Agara-Ullah Khan, who is now a prisoner at Lahore. Ranjīt had compelled him to join his forces in his first and unsuccessful attack on Kashmīr, the failure of which he ascribed to Agar-Ullah's treachery. Accordingly in revenge he sent an overpowering force against Rajaor, took and partly destroyed it and having captured the Raja threw him into confinement and placed his half brother in the Raj. Rahim-Ullah was a mild good-humoured man and treated us with much kindness."

Like other chiefs who were tributary to Ranjīt Singh the Rajaursi Raja had to assist when called upon in Military expeditions against Puch, Hazāra and other places.

Soon after 1822-23, Dhiān Singh of Jammu was created a Raja and the State of Puch from which the old ruling family had been expelled, was conferred upon him in fief. Previous to this his elder brother, Gulāb Singh, had been made Raja of Jammu, and soon afterwards Suchet Singh, the youngest brother, became Raja of Rāmnagar. They were thus able to control the whole of the outer hills between the Rāvi and the Jehlam, and Rajaursi alone seems to have maintained a kind of independence. Raja Agar-Ullah Khān was then in Lahore but his son, Hasib-Ullah Khān had been liberated, and receiving encouragement from Jammu gathered a force and invaded Rajaursi. He was opposed on the border and a messenger was at once despatched to the Maharaja, who sent support to the Raja, and the invasion was checked and Hasib-Ullah Khān captured and again imprisoned in Lahore.

As already mentioned the Jammu family were anxious to acquire Rajaursi and an amusing story has come down from those times and is recorded in the vernacular history. At that time Hira Singh, eldest son of Raja Dhiān Singh, then only a child, had become the special pet of the Maharaja, who conferred on him the Jasrota State, with the title of Raja. Finding no other way of making their request for the transfer of the Rajaursi State they utilized

Raja Hira Singh for the purpose. Prompted by them and in their presence he one day said to the Maharāja: “Maharaj, you have conferred upon me many favours for which I am grateful, but there is one thing wanting for which I make request”. On being asked what it was, Hira Singh replied, that among the favours he had received there was no good rice land for the use of his household. The Maharāja asked where he would prefer to have such lands. He replied that Rajauri was famous for its rice. The Maharāja then turned to the two brothers, Raja Dhīān Singh and Gulāb Singh, and asked their opinion, and they replied that it would be a great kindness if Rajauri was added to Raja Hira Singh’s *jāgīr*. The Maharāja then remarked. “Very good, let Hira Singh have Rajauri and Rahim-Ullah Khān Jammu and Jasrota. No more was heard of the rice lands of Rajauri, but other means were devised to gain the desired end.

The Rāja had long pondered over the question as to how this danger to the State was to be averted. He thought of waiting on the Maharaja and representing his case, but feared to do so in open Darbar which offered the only opportunity. He had, however, gone to Lahore in the hope of finding a suitable opportunity to present his request, but none offered. Hearing of his absence and of the more or less defenceless condition of the State, the territory was invaded from various quarters by Jammu armies, and although a brave stand was made things looked very critical, when suddenly the advance was suspended and the invader began to retire. The news of the invasion had reached the Maharāja, and fearing the consequences Rāja Dhīān Singh sent an order to evacuate the State. In the famine of 1833 in which Kashmir suffered greatly the neighbouring States were called upon for help and the Raja of Rajauri sent large supplies of all kinds of grain for the relief of the poor people, with orders that it should be distributed free.

In 1835 Rajauri was visited by another English traveller in the person of Mr. Vigne, who spent several years in the western Hills. He travelled from Jammu *viā* Aknur and Naushahra and was hospitably entertained by Rāja Rahim-Ullah Khān. He tells us much about his visit, and the following notice of the country is interesting though not quite accurate: “The territory of Rajawar, which lies in the way from Lahore to Kashmīr, was originally I believe a gift to his (the Rāja’s) ancestor by Aurangzeb, whose great-grandfather, Akbar, had taken the valley of Kashmīr: and upon one occasion he showed me three original grants, sealed and signed by Aurangzeb and Bahadur Shah, his son. They were beautiful and interesting specimens of Persian penmanship, but the lapse of time, and the conquests of the

Sikhs, have much lessened the territory and revenue of Rajawar, part of which arose from a right to 12,000 kirwāhs of rice in Kashmīr where the Rājā still holds a village near Zynapur. The country under the dominion of Rajawar originally extended from Punch to Jammu."

"I asked the Rājā how he pronounced the name of his capital; Rājawur, was his answer (though it is usually called Rajawur), with an emphasis on the last syllable. Rajawur means the fortress of the Raj, the kingdom or territory. Rahīm-Ullah Shah is deservedly considered a very learned and well read man among natives, and I know of no one whom I would sooner consult on the subject of tradition, or from whom I could collect more local and historical information regarding these countries than himself."

"Rājā Rahīm-Ullah Shah of Rajawur is now from sixty to sixty-five years of age. His person is short, but large and muscular, his mouth large, his nose large and aquiline, his eyes smaller in proportion and the expression of his countenance, though somewhat stern and heavy is decidedly a good one. I have been his guest at Rajawur on three separate occasions and he and his sons have always treated me with great kindness and civility".

After the death of Maharāja Ranajīt Singh the Sikh kingdom fell into great disorder and on the defeat of the Sikh army in 1845-6 the hill tracts were made over to Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu for £75,000, the amount due from the Sikhs as war indemnity. On receiving this news the Rājā of Rajauri at once went to Lahore to represent his case to Sir Henry Lawrence. Meanwhile a force from Jammu entered the territory and occupied the capital in May 1846. In the following September a force advanced from Kashmīr under the command of Faqīr-Ullah Khān, a son of the Rājā, and drove the Dogras out of Rajauri. But this was of no avail. The Rājā had gone from Lahore to Simla to submit his claim to the Governor-General, and was there confronted with a letter from his son, addressed to himself and intercepted on the way, giving a full account of the capture of Rajauri. It was then impressed upon him that he had no alternative but to submit, as the whole of the hill tracts had been made over to Rājā Gulāb Singh. He was then made to write a letter to his son forbidding further resistance. In October Maharāja Gulab Singh, accompanied by a British Officer, arrived at Rajauri, and Faqīr-Ullah Khān was given the option of remaining in subjection to Jammu or retiring to British territory and elected to leave.

The vernacular history narrates in pathetic language the

story of the exile (*Jilavatani*) as it is called, the pain felt at having to abandon a home where the family had lived for eight hundred years, and the sorrowful scenes attending their departure. Crowds thronged the streets and the roofs of the houses weeping and wailing, to gain a last look at those whom they would never see again. Meantime Raja Rahīm-Ullah Khān was in Simla and must then have been about 75 years of age. There he too was given the option of remaining in Rajauri or removing to British territory and he accepted the latter alternative. A messenger was then despatched to his son at Lahore to acquaint him with this decision and instruct him to convey the members of the family to Rihlu in Kangra District, which had been appointed as his residence, and in December 1846 they reached their destination. After making a deduction for the elder branch of the family, a pension of Rs. 16,000 a year was fixed for their support, payable from Jammu through the Government, and the old Rihlu Fort was given as a residence, along with other buildings. The Raja himself arrived in January 1847, and there the main branch of the family has resided ever since.

The Raja died in June 1847 and was succeeded by his grandson Hamīd-Ullah Khān, his two elder sons having predeceased him.

On the outbreak of war at Multan in 1848 some members of the family placed their services at the disposal of the British Government and fought through the Second Sikh War.

The family being large it soon became evident that they could not all reside together in Rihlu and a request was submitted to Government that they should be allowed to purchase another place of residence in addition to Rihlu. The request was granted and three places were offered; they chose the Saman Burj in Wazīrābād, formerly a country residence of Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Thither some members of the family retired in 1855, the head of this branch being Faqīr-Ullah Khān, the Raja's uncle.

Both branches of the family rendered valuable service to Government during the Mutiny—the Rihlu branch in Dharmśāla and Kangra and the Wazīrābād branch in the army before Delhi. On the outbreak occurring Mirza Ata-Ullah Khān and Mirza Abdula Khān, sons of Mirza Faqīr-Ullah Khān, went to Lahore and joined the 10th Bengal Cavalry—Hodson's Horse—in which they served all through the Mutiny, with much distinction. Their services were recognized by Government and there are still in the possession of the family many letters from high Government officers of that time bearing strong testimony to their steadfast loyalty and devotion.

In 1863-64, an extensive *jāgīr* in Rihlu was granted by Government in lieu of the cash pension of Rs. 16,000 annually.

Raja Hamid-Ullah Khān served in Dharmśāla as an Extra Assistant Commissioner for many years, and died in 1879. He was succeeded by his son, Nīamat-Ullah Khān.

In later years many members of the Rajauri family have served Government in almost every department of the administration, some of them with great distinction. This is specially true of the late Lt.-Colonel Raja Ata-Ullah Khān, son of Mirza Faqīr-Ullah Khān of Wazīrabad, to whom reference has already been made. He served in Abyssinia and the Afghan War and afterwards was appointed to the responsible position of British Envoy at Kabul, a post which he filled for some years, and died in 1902. His son, the present head of that branch of the family, is the Hon'ble Raja Ikram-Ullah Khān, M.L.C.

Nīamat-Ullah Khān was also for some time in Government service and on retiring was appointed an Honorary Magistrate with powers in his own *jāgīr*. He died in 1904 and was followed by his son, Azim-Ullah Khān.

In 1905, Rihlu along with the whole Kangra valley was desolated by the fearful earthquake of that year, in which no fewer than 29 members of the Rajauri family were killed, and among them was the Raja, a young man of great promise. Having left no heir he was succeeded by his uncle, Raja Wali-Ullah Khān.

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A Note on Five Rare Old Paintings of the Moghul School.

KANWAR SAIN, M.A.

Amongst a collection of original paintings in the possession of my relation Rai Sahib Lala Radhamohan Lal Ji, Judge, Appellate Court, Jaipur, I found four or rather five paintings which struck me as exceedingly fine and exquisite specimens of Moghul art at its height of excellence and I proceed without any introduction to describe them. For it seems to me that they deserve a place amongst the paintings of historical value.

The first and by far the most exquisite example of figure painting is picture No. (1) which represents an old man, seated on a carpet with a pillow behind, of remarkably fine features, long and somewhat aquiline nose, broad forehead, well-formed, somewhat bluish eyes, firm clean shaven lips, a white flowing beard, wearing a white Ammama, and a rosary in both the hands. He wears a chocolate coloured shawl thrown over his shoulders which covers more than half of his body. The white *kurta* or shirt comes down beyond his knees and covers the rest of the body, so that only the face and the hands are visible. But the folds of the shawl and the *kurta* are so natural and well-drawn that they fully show off a well-built body. The drawing of the hands and fingers is quite correct—a rather rare thing amongst the ancient artists who were somewhat careless of this detail. The lines of the face are simply perfect and the expression is remarkably true. One can see that the head and face are of no ordinary man. Indeed the whole pose and expression indicate that the man is either a saint or a sovereign. Beyond the carpet being of exquisite colour and pattern there is no attempt to embellish the background which is of plain peacock greenish blue with sky blue in the distance. It seems that the painter was too conscious of the strength of his touches to require the support of any elaborate background.

There is a golden goblet placed in front of the seated figure. On the top right-hand corner appear the words Shah-Jahangir and in the same hand appear the words Manoharbanda at the lower right-hand portion of the picture.

The picture bears a beautifully illuminated triple or quad-

rupe border. The innermost border contains the following poetical lines in Persian language and characters :

- | | |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------|
| (۱) چو خواهد مهوشم را این دل ریش | به بیند افکند دوران پس و پیش |
| (۲) چو شد اعمال تکمیلش مکمل | کدم آنرا بتدییلی مدیل |
| (۳) بدان کاعمال تدییلی بودشش | که تفصیل اگر آید ترا خوش |
| (۴) کدم بهر توهر یک را مبین | به تعریفیات و تمثیلات روشن |
| (۵) الا ای آنکه دانش با تو یار است | بدان کقسام تسهییلی چهار است |
| (۶) چو شد در نظم ای پاکیزه گوهر | سکون حرف با خدش مغیر |
| (۷) مر آنرا نام تحریک است و تسکین | به تمثیلش کدم توضیح و تبیین |
| (۸) دریم قسم است تکمیلی که اغلب | حروف اسم از و گردد مرتب |
| (۹) سویم تسهییلی و این است مشهور | کزو آسان شود اقسام مذکور |
| (۱۰) چهارم هست تدییلی کزو نام | پذیرد زیب و زیفتت بعد اتمام |

the literal translation of which is as follows:—

1. When this wounded heart craves for my moonfaced (beloved) the Time (or World) looks about and throws him before and behind.

2. When the acts (or processes) of its completion are completed (finished) then I alter them by a transformation.

3. Know then that there are six ways (or methods or processes) of transformation—if you like (to know) the details thereof.

4. I am going to make each one of them clear to you—by definitions and examples bright (and luminous).

5. O, You! with whom wisdom is friendly—know you that there are four varieties of Simplification.

6. O, You! of pure descent, when in poetic composition, the سکون of a letter is changed with its opposite (*i.e.*, by حرکت).

7. The name of that is تحریک and تسکین. I shall explain it fully by examples.

8. The second is a variety called تکمیل whereby more properly the letters of the name come out in proper order and arrangement.

9. The third is called تسهیل and this is well known from which the above named varieties become simplified, and

10. The fourth is styled تدییل from which after completion the name becomes illustrated and embellished.

The middle border is in dull steel grey greenish in colour and the outermost border is plain but beautiful designs of flowering plants in gold. The right-hand portion being almost three times as broad as the left-hand one. Is this larger space intended to allow the picture to be kept in a sort of an Album? In the golden edge of the third narrow border to the right the figure 55 is written. On the top of the picture the word *pasand* (پسند) is written. In the top right-hand corner there is affixed a seal bearing the name of Abul Muzaffar Nur-ud-Din Jahangir Badsha Ghazi ابو المظفر نور الدین جهانگیر بادشاہ غازی in the central circle and the names of his ancestors right up to Taimur Sahib Kiran, round about it.

The back of the picture is also illuminated with exquisite coloured flower patterns and calligraphy which are given below so far as they are legible:—

In the centre:—

چند در وادی خط می کنی ای دل تگ و پرو
 بشنو این نکته و چون من بنشین فارغ بل
 پنـج چیز است که تا جمع نگردد با هم
 هست خطاط شدن نزد خرد امر محال
 قوت دست و وقوفی ز خط و دقت طبع
 طاقت محنت و اسباب کتابت بکمال
 کس ازین پنج یکی راست قصوی حق
 ندهد فایده گر سعی نمائی عد سال

Round the border:—

تاج دولت را فروغ از آفتاب روی تست
 قبله زندان مقبل گوشه ابروی تست
 سنبلی کز مهر بوی نیست او را صوی تست
 لاله هم کواز وفازنگی ندارد روی تست
 بس که در چشم خیال گوشه ابروی تست
 سجده در محراب می دارم که پیش روی تست
 ای چشمه حیات بخت جانفروزی تو
 جان میدهند تشنه لبان از برای تو

این کرد باد نیست برآه و نای نو
 سرگشته است رقص کنان د. هوالی نو

The following four questions are worthy of consideration in respect of this picture :

- (1) Whom does this picture represent ?
- (2) What, if any, is the significance of the poetical lines on the border ?
- (3) Who is the author or artist ? and
- (4) Whether it is an original painting or an imitation or a copy ?

As regards the first question, the name mentioned at the top right-hand corner would *prima facie* appear to indicate that the picture represents the Emperor Jahangir. The pen and ink and the style of writing of these words Shah Jahangir are exactly the same as those found in the words Manoharbanda below and of the border lines of the picture. But the whole pose, attitude and action of the picture point unmistakably in the direction of the figure being that of a saint. The holding of the rosary strengthens the suggestion. The Ammama also bears a strong resemblance to the one worn by saints in picture No. (5) to be described hereafter.¹

The only point which may perhaps suggest sovereignty or happy-go-lucky type of life of which Jahangir was fond, is the golden goblet in front and possibly the rich embroidered carpet. But otherwise the dress is quite plain and saintlike.

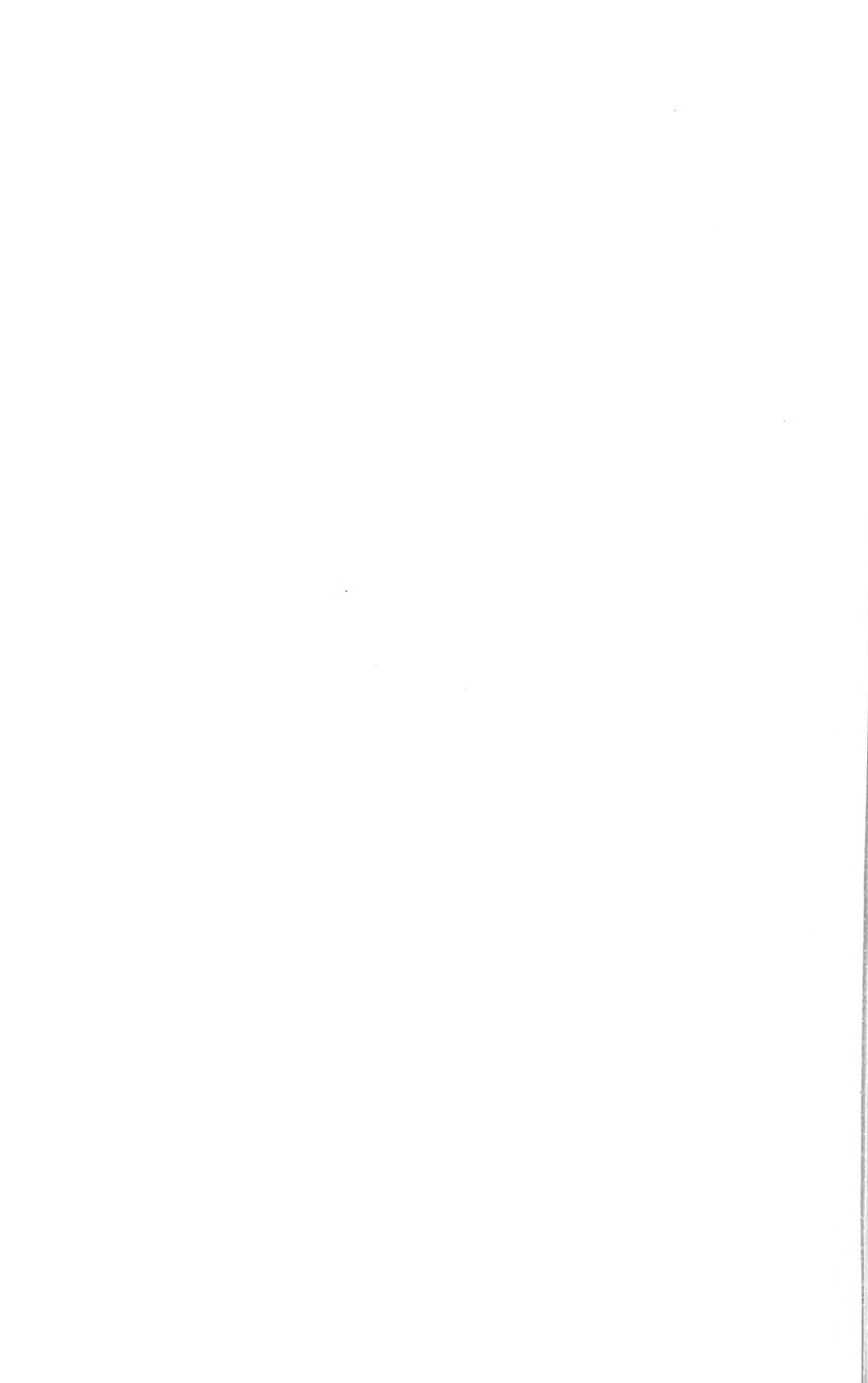
Another point again which seems to raise doubts is the white flowing beard which, for aught we know to the contrary, Emperor Jahangir never wore. At least there is no Jahangir's likeness extant to my knowledge in which he is shown with a beard.

Jahangir it is true lived up to the age of about 60 and he had a long somewhat aquiline nose and if he ever wore a beard it is more than probable that at that age it must have become grey. And in a moment of religious fervour he may have deemed it worth while to pose as a saint. Otherwise it is extremely difficult to reconcile the description given in the painting itself to another theory.

I have compared this picture both with authentic likenesses of Jahangir in younger years and also with those of well-known saints (vide picture No. (5)). I have also taken the opinion of my friend Lala Sri Ram, M.A., of Delhi who has got a very fine and

¹ Khwaja Hasan Nizami of Delhi suggested that the picture may be of a saint who too was known by the name of Shah Jahangir.





large collection of Moghul paintings. It is difficult to be quite positive when there is no picture of Jahangir's old age found anywhere. But it is not possible to say that this picture bears any striking resemblance with any of the well-known saints either (vide picture No. (5)). My conclusion therefore is that it must be the picture of Emperor Jahangir in the pose of a saint.

This conclusion is further strengthened by a suggestion of the next three points, viz., (1) that the border lines seem to form a conundrum the solution of which brings out the name of Nur-ud-Din; (2) that the authorship of this picture must be ascribed to Manohar, the well-known artist of the court of Jahangir; and (3) that the picture is a genuine one which was approved of probably by the Emperor himself.

The conundrum contained in the border lines is apparently such as ought to be explained by each one of the ten couplets. I have been able, I think, to explain the first only which is as follows:—

That if my wounded heart wants to find my beloved then he would find him in the words scattered by the times (دوران). Now the wounded **دل** این would mean **دل** ین for the words are shorn of a letter say **الف** and if the letters of **دل** ین are mixed up with the letters of **دوران** they form the name Nur-ud-Din in this way

5	7	9	8	1	4	3	2	6
د	ل	ن	ی	ن	ا	ر	ز	د
9	8	7	6	5	4	3	2	1
ن	ی	د	ل	ن	ا	ر	ز	د

Moreover I believe if instead of **بیذ** the word were **گیر** then even the name of Jahangir could be brought in the second line for **دوران** means **جهان** and **گیر** could be derived from **گیر**.

As regards the authorship the name Manoharbanda is quite clearly written and admits of no doubt. Mr. Havell in his standard work on Indian painting and sculpture gives the name as **منوچهر بنده**. I do not know which particular painting he had referred to from which he elicited the name as **منوچهر**. The painting which is reproduced in his own work seems to me to show the name as no other than Manoharbanda. At all events, there can be no mistaking the name as given in this picture under review.

The seal of Emperor Abul-Muzaffar Nur-ud-Din Jahangir is evidently a genuine one and I see no reason to doubt that it is contemporaneous. This fixes the time of the painting to be during the reign of Emperor Jahangir 1605-27 (A.D.). Moreover the

intrinsic worth and excellence of the picture itself is a sure indication to my mind that it is the original work of the court artist and not an imitation. No wonder then that a work of such high merit should have received the approbation of the Emperor who professed not without reason to be a great connoisseur of the art and who rightly prided himself in having about him artists of high rank.

This picture as also the following ones 2, 3 and 4, it may only be incidentally mentioned, have been shown by me to several eminent personages, such as, the Hon'ble Mr. J. P. Thompson the ex-President of the Historical Society, Lahore, the Hon'ble Sir Grimwood Mears, Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court, the Hon'ble Sir P. C. Bannerji, Retired Officiating Chief Justice of Allahabad High Court, Lala Sri Ram, M.A., of Delhi, Mr. Gupta, Vice-Principal of the School of Arts and Mr. Naggarkatti, Director of Industries, Kashmir State, who have all without exception been greatly impressed with the high quality of its workmanship which is second to none amongst Indian paintings. The latter two have shown me the courtesy of having these pictures photographed.

The second and third pictures are painted on two sides of a very finely illuminated cardboard. On one side is a group of two figures, the one to the left being that of a prince seated on a rock holding a hawk on his gloved left hand. The figure in front is evidently of a servant or attendant standing with folded hands as if to receive orders. The prince is dressed in typical *pagri* with the tiara of green emerald and diamonds in front. A rainbow coloured halo surrounds the head and face. The ear-ring with pearls and ruby (amethyst) hangs from the ear. The *Chapkan* or coat is of a delicate green with exquisite flower patterns. This covers the whole body almost reaching up to the ankles. The belt apparently is bejewelled with which hangs a delicately embroidered kerchief in two-folds. A triangular dagger (پیش قدم) with a rainbow coloured scabbard is pressed in at the side under the belt. The trousers (Pyjamas) are delicate pink gold shot. The slippers are worked in gold with a blue band. The clothing of the attendant too is similar only different in colour being white worked in golden thread and apparently less costly.

The scene depicted is a hawking excursion and the landscape is both natural and impressive. The rocky ground is very fairly represented. The sky effect is not at all bad, considering that the artist bestowed very little attention to it. Here too the artist has confined his attention to the principal figure which is exceedingly finely drawn and painted. The lines are firm and colouring simply exquisite.

Who does this figure represent? The answer to this question







may be found partly by the seal affixed on the top left-hand corner of the picture and partly by a comparison of this picture with well-known likenesses of the times. The poetical lines which decorate the innermost border and are described below do not appear to me to lend much help in fixing the identity of the person. To my mind they can only show this much that the picture represents a ruling prince whose munificence the artist solicited and expected as a reward for his trouble :—

که عقل از مستیش کردن فرازد	کزین سان تحفه عقلی بسازد
ملاحت را کز خون خط باز دادم	فیول بندگی را ساز دادم
مسجل شد به نام شاه آفاق	چو شد پرداخته بر سلک اوراق
که بادش تا قیامت زندگانی	چو دانستم که آن جمشید ثانی
بنام شاه آفاقش کند داغ	اگر برگ گلی بیند درین باغ
که تا شه باشد از من بنده خشنود	مرا این رهنمونی بخت فرمود
که با یوسف رخس اندیشه بود	شنیدستم که دولت پیشه بود
که با جانش برابر کرد جانرا	چنان در دل نشاند آن داستان را
نبردی مدت یک خوشه انگور	گوش صد داغ بخشیدند از نور

The seal is as in the first picture that of Abul Muzaffar Nur-ud-Din Jahangir Badshah Ghazi. I am, therefore, inclined to the belief that the picture must be of the times of Emperor Jahangir. The long nose and long amorous eyes and fair complexion are very much like those of Jahangir himself in his younger years and after a comparison of this picture with recognised likenesses of Jahangir, I am inclined to the view that this picture too represents Jahangir when he was young. We know from history that he was fond of sport and hawking and it is not at all unlikely that he should have been painted in a hawking scene.

The name of the artist does not appear anywhere in the body of the painting. But we know that Jahangir had three or four painters of high repute whom he had patronised munificently and given high titles. This picture must be the work of one of them.

The picture on the reverse of the preceding one is of an equestrian with a bow and arrows on sides and spear in hand. The scene is apparently outside the rampart of a fort or palaces where besides the central figure on horse back there are seen in the distance a number of cavalry men. The rider is apparently

a man of distinction on his favourite charger. The *pagri* is dark steel grey in colour and the *Achkan* or *Chapkan* is yellowish shade of orange with a rose flower pattern. The person is profusely ornamented with pearls and jewels. The horse which is well drawn is piebald or dappled white and black and is shown of a fiery spirit. The three cherubin are shown high above—one blowing trumpet—the second offering a pearl necklace and a third proffering a chaplet. The whole scene particularly of the cherubin above indicates to my mind that the person represented in this picture is shown as the hero of the hour for whom laurels of renown are being offered and paeans of praise sung.

Who then is this person? No name is given either of the person or of the artist. But the existence of the cherubin and their pose and attitude point unmistakably to the fact that European influence had affected the art. The faces of the cherubin are remarkably similar to those found in Italian Masters.

A comparison of this picture with the fourth one, a description of which is to follow, leaves no room for doubt that the horse is the same in this picture as the one under the principal figure in picture No. (4). The name of Raja Man Singh of Jaipur is given in the latter picture. I, therefore, conclude that this picture represents Raja Man Singh when he was a little older or had grown a beard.

This picture must be the work of the same artist who drew and painted the picture on the reverse. The workmanship is fine and the lines of figure and face are true. The representation of perspective and aerial effect is attempted, but as is usual with Indian Painters they are both conventional rather than natural.

The fourth painting is, as it is described, the picture of a scene of the meeting of Raja Man Singh with Faiz Talab Khan of Kabul. It represents Raja Man Singh on his favourite piebald charger accompanied by his equestrian attendants being received outside the fort by Faiz Talab Khan, who with his attendants is on foot and is paying homage to the former. The group of figures and the scenery in the background form an excellent example of artistic representation of the times. There is action and movement in abundance. The joyous exultation on the faces of the conquering party and of humility and submission on the faces of the other are very successfully painted. There is of course a somewhat conventional colouring of animals and faces to give artistic effect of variety, but the colouring of the landscape is exceedingly fine and on the whole very natural. The mountains, trees and sky are beautifully represented. The perspective although somewhat conventional is nevertheless artistic to a degree and the effect of the lines of troops drawn up in the

approaches to the fort and the sparkling buildings of the citadel and the palaces in the farther heights is exceedingly charming. A contrast of the peacock green of the distant hills and of dark green trees in the right-hand corner with the crimson of the distant horizon is superb.

The name of the artist is given as Banda Tezdast, who I believe was one of the approved artists of the times of Jahangir. The border ornamentation is good but is evidently inferior to that in the preceding three pictures. This picture too represents an historical scene and contains an excellent example of grouping and landscape painting and, therefore, may be taken to be a typical example of Moghal art. It also bears the mark of *pasand* پسند on the top, from which I gather that it must have been approved of by the officer-in-charge of selection. As, however, there is no privy seal affixed to it, it may be taken as not having received the final approval of the Emperor himself.

The fifth represents a group of six Muhammadan saints, the two leading ones being Hazrat Pir to the right which I believe means Khawaja Shams Tabrez and the other one to the left being Khawaja Muin-ud-Din Chishti. Next in order come Shah Sharf to the right and Khawaja Kutub-ud-Din Bakhtiyar Kaki-Ushi to the left and in the third row Sultan Mashaikh to the right and Sheikh Farid to the left. They are all dressed in the typical simple costume—all but one wearing Ammamas, Shah Sharf only being bare-headed. They are seated on their knees and their faces which are well drawn betoken saintliness and spirituality. In the middle there is a black box with a few books arranged on the top of it. This is probably both as an emblem of study and also a device to fill the space. The background represents a river with marginal high grounds covered over with verdure. The landscape and the sky which form the background are evidently secondary in importance and only throw a suggestion of peace and repose in conformity with the character of the persons constituting the group. These saints form the beacon lights of Muhammadan thought and culture and this picture bears traces of being the original or at least one of the earliest of its kind in India.

There is a similar picture of the group found in the Lahore Museum. But on a comparison with this picture I found that that one is inferior in workmanship and I could not but conclude that that one in the museum must have been either a copy of this or of some other original painting.

The name of the artist of this picture is not given but firm lines and the correct poses as also delicate colouring found in this picture lead me to believe that the artist is by no means of

an ordinary skill. This picture too is of a piece with the first two or three pictures and is certainly superior to the fourth. It represents Moghal art at its best and in so far as it represents a group of the most eminent Muhammadan saints who have left a permanent impress on Indian history and society confined not only to Muhammadan alone, this picture ought to be deemed of great historical value.

On the 26th May 1922, Sir Thomas Arnold read an exceedingly interesting paper before the Royal Society of Arts in London on Indian paintings and Muhammadan culture. In the course of this he truly said that "one important aspect of the history of Muhammadan rule in India that has not yet received adequate treatment is the religious life of Islam in its various phases and developments. . . . Indian painting emphasises one aspect of the religious life of Islam in India, which is of prime importance—the reverence for saints and ascetics, the submission by the faithful of the spiritual life to the direction of religious guides and teachers." He gave some examples of paintings of saints like Main Hatam of Sambhal, Sheikh Mohammed Ghaus, Sheikh Aziz Ullah and Sheikh Fakhru'd Din. This group of eminent saints may be taken as another and I believe by far the most valuable example of this phase of Indian history.

Later on the Professor remarks that "the other great contribution to Indian Muhammadan Culture came from Hinduism and some measure of its influence may be found in the degree of the approximation of the two systems. . . . It is in literature that the most striking evidence of the Hindu contribution towards this approximation is to be found. The Muhammadan influence expressed itself largely in externals, and here art may come to the assistance of the Historian, for innumerable pictures of Hindu Rajas and the surroundings reveal how profoundly they have become impressed by the Moghal Court, and how largely Muhammadan influences have come to form part of their daily life and manners." Pictures No. (3) and (4) in which Raja Man Singh, is depicted may be taken as an excellent example of this proposition. The valiant Raja of Jaipur is shown as wearing a costume of the Mohammedan Court.

In the 'Times of India' Illustrated Weekly of 14th . . . 1922, an interesting contribution and example of Indian art of the Moghal period is given. The representation of an Amir of the Court of Jahangir by Bal Chand about 1614 bears good comparison with the Paintings No. (2) and (3); and the panel of calligraphy from the Emperor Jahangir's collection by Mir Ali of Hirat and its border ornamentation may be compared with the calligraphy and ornamentation of Picture No. (1) described above.

I have not been able to find the Scrap book containing 233 Indian paintings and drawings collected by the late Mr. Lockwood Kipling. Nor have I had the advantage of seeing Lady Wantage's splendid collection of 36 Mughal paintings by Court Artists of the reigns of the Emperor Jahangir and Shah-Jahan. But I have compared these paintings as I have said before with those found in the Lahore Museum and in the collection of my friend Lala Sri Ram, M.A., of Delhi and also with those published in Mr. Havell's book on Indian Painting and Coronation Durbar of Delhi, and my conclusion is as stated above that these five paintings deserve to be reckoned amongst the typical specimens of Moghal art at its best.

Jammu, 5th Oct., 1923.

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Secretary's Report of 1923.

During the year there were three ordinary meetings in addition to the Annual meeting.

In January the President Sir John Maynard read a paper on the "Material in Inscriptions for the history of Institutions".

In April Mr. Gulshan Rai read a paper on the "History of the Hindu Institution the Family".

In November Mr. Garrett read a paper on "A Panjab State Trial" and explained the arrangement made for preserving and sorting the older records in the Panjab Civil Secretariat.

In December R. B. Daya Ram Sahni delivered a lecture, illustrated by lantern slides on the story of Sarnath.

Owing to the failure of the Alliance Bank the publication of the Journal had to be delayed, and the Index to the first eight volumes postponed. However the first part of Vol. IX was brought out during the summer. This is the first number of the new format.

Material is available for the second part of this volume which is now to be taken in hand.

A. C. WOOLNER.

Hon. Secretary.

Honorary Treasurer's Report for 1923.

Three new members joined the Society. None resigned during the year which is however over-shadowed by the failure of the Alliance Bank of Simla. Total number of members is 120, three of whom cannot be traced. Fifty members are in arrears owing more than a thousand rupees to the Society. Some of our distinguished members have not paid their subscription to the Society for the last 3,4, even 5 years. Repeated reminders have failed to bring forth a cheque. I wish particularly to mention that the total sale proceeds of the Journal amounted to Rs. 208-14-0 which is a little less than half the total cost of its publication. The following statement shows the financial position of the Society :

INCOME.			EXPENDITURE		
	Rs.	As. P.		Rs.	As. P.
Fifty per cent. received from the Liquidators of the Alliance Bank of Simla.	1387	5	4	Payments	614 13 6
Subscription and sale of Journal:	270	6	0	Balance at the Bank	1016 9 10
				Balance with the Hon. Treasurer	26 4 0
Total	1657	11	4	Total	1657 11 4

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BACK NUMBERS.

A limited number of back numbers of the first sixteen issues (Vols. I-VIII) are available. Price to members, Rs. 3 each, to others, Rs. 5.

INDEX.

A full Index to the first eight volumes has been prepared and will be printed as soon as funds permit.

JOURNAL
OF THE
PANJAB HISTORICAL SOCIETY

VOL. X., PART I., PP. 1—94.

Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of
the Dutch East India Company to the Great
Moguls—Shah Alam Bahadur Shah
and Jahandar Shah.

TRANSLATED FROM THE DUTCH

BY

MRS. D. KUENEN-WICKSTEED

AND ANNOTATED BY

J. PH. VOGEL, PH. D.

1929.

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**Embassy of Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, Ambassador of the
Dutch East India Company to the Great Moguls
Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah and Jahandar Shah.**

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The account of Mr. Ketelaar's embassy is inserted in "Lives of the Great Moguls" (*Levens der Groote Mogols*) which forms part of Francois Valentijn's big work *Oud- en Nieuwe Oost-Indiën*, which appeared in five bulky volumes at Dordrecht and Amsterdam in the year 1726. It is found in vol. IV, pp. 280—302.¹

The author relates that in the year 1710 it was resolved to send an embassy under Mr. Cornelius Bezuijen to Shāh 'Alam Bahādūr Shāh on behalf of the Dutch East India Company. But in October of the same year that gentleman died after a lingering illness at Surat, where he had held the important post of Director of the Dutch factories in Gujarat and Hindustan. Some time previous to his death he recommended the Chief Merchant, Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, to be his successor both as Director of the Dutch factories and as Head of the proposed embassy. Mr. Bezuijen's burial is described at great length. He was buried in the tomb of the late Commissioner-General, Hendrik Adriaan van Reede (died A.D. 1692). This tomb is still the most prominent monument of the Dutch cemetery (locally known as Walandi Qabarstān) at Surat.

In the next year 1711 the embassy under Mr. Ketelaar started and, travelling by way of Agra, arrived on the 10th December of that year at a distance of 6 kos* or 3 miles from Lahore where the Emperor was encamped. The embassy was still at Lahore waiting for their firmān, when Bahādūr Shāh suddenly died on the 28th February 1712. The diary gives a vivid account of the confusion that followed the Emperor's death. The Dutch ambassador was even invited to take an active part in the struggle for the throne on behalf of the eldest son of the deceased monarch, but politely declined the invitation on account of ill-health. When Jahāndār Shāh had come out victorious, negotiations for the firmān were continued with his Court. They had not yet had the desired effect when on the 9th May the Emperor moved camp and with his whole army started for Dehli. It should be remembered that the pretender Farrukhsiyar was making preparations in Bengal. The Dutch ambassador and his suite accompanied the Imperial Court on the march to the capital which was carried out under extreme discomfort in the hottest time of the year. On the 24th of June Dehli was reached. Here the rest of the summer was passed with continuous solicitations to obtain the desired privileges

from the Imperial Court. It was not until the 9th of October that after endless delays on the part of the Emperor and his officials the Dutch ambassador, having attained his object, could leave Dehli. The return journey to Surat by way of Agra, Gwalyor, Narvar, Sarangpur, Ujjain, Jhabua, Godhra and Baroda took four months and was attended with grave dangers and great difficulties, as all along the road the country was infested with robbers while the petty Rajas of Malwa made it their business to levy blackmail from the caravans passing through their territories. When at last Surat was reached on the 17th February 1713, the first news which greeted the ambassador was that Jahāndār Shāh had been defeated by his nephew Farrukhsiyar. This meant that the privileges granted by the former for the trade of the Dutch had become absolutely valueless and all the difficulties and perils sustained had been in vain.

The account of the embassy of Mr. Ketelaar, as given in Valentijn's big work, is based on the official journal, kept by Ernst Coenraad Graaf, head-clerk of the embassy. A copy of this document is still extant at the State Record Office at The Hague. Now from a comparison of the text of Valentijn with the document in question it appears that the compiler has followed the original fairly closely for the first part of the journal describing the ambassador's stay at Lahore which from a historical point of view is undoubtedly the most important portion of the journal. But the remainder of the document has been summarised by Valentijn in a few pages. Some particulars are given about the embassy's sojourn at Dehli and the description of the famous Peacock Throne is rendered in full from the journal. The march from Lahore to Dehli with the Emperor's army and the eventful journey from the capital to the west coast have been abbreviated in the printed text to such an extent as to lose all colour. Yet these portions of the journal are of great import as they give us in the simple narrative of the Dutch scribe a very vivid impression of the perturbed state of the country and of the peril of travelling only a few years after the death of 'Alamgir (Aurangzeb).

The English translation which we here offer to the readers of this journal follows Valentijn for the first part of the account of the embassy; but from the beginning of May 1712 it is based on a copy of the original journal kept in the Record Office at The Hague. This copy consists of 150 pages in writing which have been condensed by Valentijn into five pages of print. We may, therefore, safely say that this portion of the journal is here being published for the first time.

In order to avoid misunderstanding, it should be pointed out that the document at The Hague is not the original journal kept by the head-clerk of the embassy. The originals of such papers used to be kept at Batavia and copies sent home for the information

of the Directors of the East India Company. On the whole the copy in question gives the impression of being accurate. Only the many Indian names and technical terms seem sometimes to have puzzled the copyist, as in fact in their quaint spelling they are liable to puzzle us. Most of these terms, however, are the same as are met with in contemporary English writings, though differently spelled. The word *næxr* which in English books is usually spelled *nuzzer*, we find here as *nesser*.

While following the original journal, Valentijn has evidently set himself the task of polishing the somewhat uncouth style of the diarist. The same difference of language will perhaps to a certain extent be noticeable in the translation. It was, however, not always possible to retain in the English rendering the quaint style of the original with its preference for French words, which in English are often in common use and therefore fail to make any impression of special quaintness.

The diarist certainly deserves a word of praise for the conscientious manner in which he has discharged his task, often no doubt under very trying circumstances. There are things on which we should have liked to have fuller information. But we must not forget that his interests were different from ours and that the mode of travelling in those days was very unlike that of the modern globe-trotter who enjoys full leisure to look for objects of artistic and historical interest. What perhaps is most striking in the whole account of Johan Josua Ketelaar's embassy is that singleness of purpose and devotion to duty which pervades it in the curious garb of its antiquated matter-of-fact and sometimes humorous style.

We do not know anything regarding the later adventures of 'the Lord Ambassador' in the East. Valentijn only says that he remained at Surat as Director until the year 1715, when he was succeeded by Daniel Hurgronje. Another personage who plays rather a prominent part in the story of the embassy was the "Merchant and First Adjunct Roger Beerenaard." We know that he became Director of the Dutch factory at Chinsura and died there on the 28th November 1733. Among the old hatchments in the Dutch church at Chinsura there is one containing his crest and initials and the date of his death.¹

¹C. R. Wilson, *Dutch Monumental Inscriptions*. (*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. LXXIII, part I (1904), p. 274 f.)

An Embassy from the Honourable Dutch East India Company to the Great Moghul (1711).

The Dutch East India Company a very powerful commercial body has on various occasions deputed ambassadors to the Great Moghals.

In the diary of Sir Thomas Roe's mission to the Court of Jahāngir (1615-1619) the ambassador refers to a Dutch Embassy, which presented itself at Ahmadabad on 13th January 1618. It was headed by Pieter Gilles van Ravesteyn. If we remember the commercial rivalry which in those days existed between the British and the Dutch, the brief account given by Sir Thomas Roe, is very significant.

"The Dutch," he says,¹ came to Court with a great present of China ware, sanders (*i.e.* sandelwood), parrats and cloannes; but were not suffered to come near the third degree. At last the Prince (Khurram) asked me who they were. I replied: The Hollanders resident in Surat. He demanded if they were our friends. I replied: They were a nation depending on the King of England, but not welcome in all places: their business I knew not. He said: for being our friends, I should call them up; and so I was enforced to send for them to deliver their present. They were placed by our merchants, without any speech or further conference.

In the well-known "Travels" of Francois Bernier, the Court physician of Aurangzeb, we also find an account of an embassy of the Dutch East India Company which came to the Mogul Court in 1662.

"The Hollanders," Bernier says, "would not be the last to present Aureng-zebe, with the *Mohbarce*. They determined to send an ambassador to him, and made choice of Monsieur Adrican, chief of their factory at Sourate. This individual possesses integrity, abilities and sound judgment; and as he does not disdain the advice offered by the wise and experienced, it is not surprising that he acquitted himself to the satisfaction of his countrymen. Although in his general deportment Aurang-zebe be remarkably high and unrelenting, affects the appearance of a zealous Mahometan, and consequently despises Franks or Christians, yet upon the occasion of this embassy, his behaviour was most courteous and condescending. He even expressed a desire that Monsieur Adrican, after that gentleman had performed the Indian ceremony of the Salaam, should approach and salute him à la Frank.

¹The Embassy of Sir Thomas Roe to the Court of the Great Mogul (1615—1619) edited by W. Foster, London 1894, vol. II, p. 459. Cf. vol. I, pp. 228 ff.

The preliminary observances being over, Aurang-zebe intimated that the ambassador might produce his presents; at the same time investing him, and a few gentlemen in his suite, with a *Ser-Apah* of brocade. The presents consisted of a quantity of very fine broad cloths, scarlet and green; some large looking-glasses; and several articles of Chinese and Japan workmanship; among which were a *paleky* and a *Tack-zanan*, or travelling throne, of exquisite beauty and much admired.

The Great Moghal is in the habit of detaining all ambassadors as long as can reasonably be done, from an idea that it is becoming his grandeur and power, to receive the homage of foreigners, and to number them among the attendants of his Court. Monsieur Adrican was not dismissed, therefore, so expeditiously as he wished, though much sooner than the ambassadors from Tartary. His secretary died, and the other individuals in his retinue were falling sick, when Aureng-zebe granted him permission to depart. On taking leave the King again presented him with a *Ser-Apah* of brocade for his own use, and another very rich one for the Governor of Batavia, together with a dagger set with jewels; the whole accompanied by a very gracious letter.

The chief aim of the Hollanders in this embassy was to ingratiate themselves with the Mogol, and to impart to him some knowledge of their nation, in order that a beneficial influence might thus be produced upon the minds of the governors of sea-ports, and other places, where they have established factories. They hoped that those governors would be restrained from offering insult, and obstructing their commerce, by the consideration that they belonged to a powerful State, that they could obtain immediate access to the King of the Indies to induce him to listen to their complaints, and to redress their grievances. They endeavoured also to impress the government with an opinion that their traffic with Hindoustan was most advantageous to that kingdom, exhibiting a long list of articles purchased by their countrymen, from which they showed that the gold and silver brought by them every year into the Indies amounted to a considerable sum: but they kept out of sight the amount of those precious metals extracted by their constant importations of copper, lead, cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, pepper, aloes-wood, elephants, and other merchandise."

¹Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (A.D. 1656—1668) edited by A. Constable. Westminster 1891, pp. 127—129. The Embassy of Dirk van Adrichem is also mentioned by Manucci, *Storia do Mogol*, transl. by W. Irvine, vol. II, pp. 62—64.

JOURNAL OF THE AMBASSADE.

In the year of grace 1711 Mr. Johan Josua Ketelaar, then in the service of the Netherlands East India Company as director of trade at Surat, went as ambassador to the Prince Sjah Aalem Bhadur.¹ His embassy with all its details we shall relate in the form of a journal.

The aforesaid gentleman travelled first a month and a half, or 150 miles from Agra to the some time Imperial City of Lahore, where the Prince lay with his army and arrived there the 10th December, within three miles of the city.

He reached this famous and ancient city, situated in the province of Panschaap² on the large river Rari³ abounding in fish and only navigable by small craft. He then arrived at a Sarai Chan Channa⁴ where he caused his camp to be pitched.

Early in the night, it being very cold, the gentleman was seized by a severe attack of colic.

On the 11th ditto he moved into a certain lodging in which some of the people of Prince Mahmud Azem⁵ were still to be found and in the afternoon received a number of pears, apples, pomegranates and other homelike fruits by order and in the name of a certain Lady of the Court, Donna Juliana Dias da Costa,⁶ Governess of the Royal Seraglio, a lady of great influence with the Great Mogul, and very favourably inclined towards the Hollanders.

She also sent him some horses with the promise that the next morning she would send more, for his State entry.

The 12th ditto he was informed by a Mancepdaar,⁷ named Mahmud Teehy Chan,⁸ in the name of the Emperor that the next day he should make his entrance in great pomp under the escort of one of the principal Omrahs.⁹ Shortly after came the Mancepdaar with the Imperial Court Physician, Mr. Martyn, to call on him with quite thirty more Christians of different nations, in order to welcome and accompany him.

The 13th ditto appeared the Omrah, Hattum Beek Chan,¹⁰ with 500 horse and as many foot, to accompany His Honour to the camp.

¹Shah 'Alam Bahadur Shah.

²Panjab.

³Ravi.

⁴Sarai Khan Khanan.

⁵Mahmud Azam or 'Azim-ush-shan, the second son of Bahadur Shah, who at the time of his father's death was best supplied with troops and money. Cf. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*.

⁶Father Hosten, S. J., informs me that there exists a book in Portuguese entitled *Uma Dona Portuguesa no Corte do Grao Mogol* by J. Ismael Gracias, published in 1907 at Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional (price 500 zeih). It contains a collection of letters.

He had with him a State elephant besides four large and many small flags of white and green silk, and four banners of green silk embroidered with gold. To meet him and to conduct him into his presence, the Lord Ambassador sent Mr. Rogier Beerenaard, merchant in the service of the Honourable Company, and Under-Merchant Dirk Huisinkveld, besides the Secretary, Herman Bruinink.

The Omrah produced his credentials and said he had been sent by the Emperor to conduct him to the camp, to which the Lord Ambassador having rendered a very polite answer, the said Omrah took his leave and departed to his tent, which had been pitched outside the Sarai.

In the camp an Armenian Bishop and several Jesuits were sojourning, who came likewise to welcome the Lord Ambassador.

The 14th ditto at nine o'clock the entry of the Lord Ambassador into the camp commenced with great pomp and in the following order.

1. First came a State elephant wearing a trapping of green cloth, the borders whereof were ornamented all about with red cloth, and whereon a green and white silk flag was placed to indicate the rank of the aforesaid Ammarau (or Omrah).

2. There appeared many small flags of green and white (silk) attached to rockets accompanied by the peons, or foot soldiers of the Ammarau.

3. Then appeared a large elephant, as gift from the Honourable Company to the Emperor, covered by a coat of gold brocade, whereafter followed a string of other gift dittos covered with coats of green and red cloth, and on each of them a grenadier, and behind them the superintendent of elephants on horseback.

4. There followed four great banners of the Honourable Company and forty attached to rockets and next a man with kettle-drums on horseback.

5. Nine presentation horses for the Emperor, with their gold and silver caparisons, which the equierry and two trumpeters followed on horseback.

8. Then followed the Ensign, Ernst Godlieb Nythard, on horseback, who headed.

7. Six Grenadiers on horseback, riding two by two on horseback.

8. Next came the Under-Merchant and paymaster.¹ Mr. Johan Haak, with the Secretary, Herman Bruinink, on horseback.

9. The first sworn clerk of the Embassy Ernst Coenraad

⁷Mansabdar or 'office-holder.'

⁸Mahmud Taqi (?) Khan.

⁹Umarā, plur. of *amir*.

¹⁰Khadim Beg Khan, *cf.* beneath p. 32.

Graaf, with the Assistant Hondrik Kalden, appeared also on horseback.

10. As likewise the Sergeant, Ernest Otto Belonw, with the Under-Surgeon, George Hannibal Smit.

11. Then came two led horses of the Lord Ambassador, by which rode four silver stick-bearers of His Honour.

12. Next the peons, foot soldiers and musketeers of His Honour.

13. Then appeared the Lord Ambassador himself being borne in his palanquin, between the aforesaid Ammarau and Mancepdaar, and the Emperor's Court Physician, Mr. Martya, who likewise sat in their palanquins.

14. Behind His Honour's palanquin there were twenty-five horsemen, taken into his service at Agra, moreover on the right hand the Christians, who had come to meet him and on the left hand the horsemen of the Emperor, and also those of the aforesaid Ammarau.

15. Then followed a led horse of the Merchant and first Deputy, the Honourable Rogier Beerenaard.

16. Likewise the peons and musketeers of the same.

17. And then His Honour himself in his palanquin.

18. Then appeared a led horse of the Under-Merchant and second Deputy Dirk Huisinkveld.

19. Likewise his Peons and Musketeers.

20. And thereupon that Deputy himself, in his palanquin.

21. Then followed a Dutch four-wheeled conveyance, which had been brought from Suratte for the Lord Ambassador, in which were seated some Jesuits and likewise the Armenian Bishop.

22. It was followed by a similar car from Agra, in which the Chief Surgeon of the Embassy, Mr. Eppendorf, had taken his place, with some clerks.

23. Next came into view four Hindoostani four-wheeled carts with covers of red and green cloth in which were the remaining clerks and soldiers.

24. Then appeared the Corporal in Command, Arnold Willemz van Swoll, on horseback.

25. Besides a loaded camel and another one with two great kettle-drums.

26. And finally the Superintendent of Camels on horseback, who closed the procession.

After the Lord Ambassador had thus approached the camp within one kos, or half a mile, there appeared on the road which the procession followed, a four-wheeled cart, covered with a net of red silk, wherein was observed the aforementioned Governess of the Emperor's Malal or Seraglio, with the four principal wives

¹The original has 'guastoshouder' from the Portuguese *guastos* "expenses."

from the Seraglio, eager to see the entry of the Hollanders, and to give an account of it to the Emperor.

Shortly after the Lord Ambassador was visited by our three Wakiels, or Agents.

They brought with them a Tusker, carrying a howdah, wherein the principal one of these Agents was seated. Thereon was also placed a flag of green and white silk; but the other two were carried in their palanquins and many horsemen and foot soldiers.

As soon as these three gentlemen saw the Lord Ambassador approaching, they alighted, and coming up to him, welcomed His Honour courteously and offered him a Nesser¹ of several gold and silver rupees, on which having placed his hand, the Ambassador presented the same to them in return, whereupon they proceeded in the same order but somewhat to the side of our train.

In the afternoon at three o'clock the Emperor's Artillery was reached, where the tents of the Embassy were found pitched in order, wherein the Lord Ambassador was welcomed by a number of Grantees of the Court.

Donna Juliana, to whom the Emperor had given a full commission for the affairs of the Embassy, informed the Lord Ambassador at once that she had prevailed with His Majesty to permit His Honour with all the Europeans to appear in audience at the pleasure of His Honour, be it even next morning, and that the Emperor had ordered the Ammaraus Enayt Ullah Chan,² Wesaret Chan³ and Isalam Chan⁴ to attend to our interests.

He had also ordered the Ammarau Hattumbeek Chan⁵ to conduct the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies before the throne, for which courtesy the Lord Ambassador thanked the lady, requesting only to be granted a short time in which to unpack the presents which were to precede the audience.

The 16th ditto the lady caused a better camp to be offered to the Lord Ambassador, who accepted the offer. She then arranged for him to have two gardens situated not far away and surrounded by high walls, where His Honour was free from the stench of carrion.

The 17th ditto the goods were sent thither, and followed by the Lord Ambassador, and his suite as at the Entry.

Inasmuch as the presents destined for the Emperor and his

¹A "nuzzer" (Arabic *nazr*), a ceremonial present, properly an offering from an inferior to a superior. *Hobson-Jobson*, i.c.—

²Inayat-ullah Khan, the Khansaman or Lord Steward.

³Wazarat Khan, viz. Hidayat-ullah Khan, acting Wazir in the last year of the reign of Bahadur Shah. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 161, No. 9.)

⁴Islam Khan, General of Artillery.

⁵Khadim Beg Khan.

four Princes took some time to unpack, Donna Juliana informed the Ambassador that she and some ladies of the Court intended to come and inspect them, and at the same time to advise him which of same would please the Emperor and the Princes best.

The 20th ditto she came with some Ladies of the Court, and was very politely and ceremoniously received by the Lord Ambassador and his suite in the garden, where His Honour had arranged on one side the elephants and the cannon and on the other side the presentation horses with their costly gold and silver harness and other caparisons. She was then conducted to the tent of the Hon. Beerenwaard (in whose room in this tent the goods were placed), where she alighted from a covered cart in which she had come incognito with the Imperial Company, and which by its Kanaats kept her concealed from the eye of others.

Before her arrival she had sent the Lord Ambassador, in the name of the Emperor and by his order, a costly Mesmanie¹ of fifty dishes and after the meal was finished had caused him to be regaled with Abier,² attar of roses and other perfumes, and likewise with betels gracefully wound about with gold and silver thread.

She stayed the whole afternoon with His Honour, and she and her company expressed their surprise especial and delight at the curiosities they had inspected.

On the 21st ditto the Lord Ambassador received, by order of the Emperor, a small table of massive gold, with delicate viands such as were prepared for His Majesty himself. It was very artfully fitted out with little dishes round about in appropriate hollows and in the centre a large bowl for soup.

These were striking marks of the Emperor's favour towards the Lord Ambassador, which the Emier-ul-Ammarau, Sullicaar Chan³ and the said Lady likewise confirmed.

This gave good reason to hope for a favourable conclusion to our affairs, whereof they also fully assured the Lord Ambassador, warning him that the only ones who would try to oppose him were the second Prince, Mahmud Azem, and two or three Ammarauws who were hostile to the Christians, but that the former could be set down with money.

Subsequently the presents for the Emperor, packed and wrapped in red Bafta,⁴ after being registered, were sent to the Emperor's tent on the 26th ditto under supervision of the Deputies, Johan

¹Apparently a contamination of the Persian words *mizbani* and *mihmani* meaning "entertainment, hospitality."

²Arabic '*abiz*,' ambergris, saffron or any other grateful perfume.

³Zulfiqar Khan, the Amir-ul-umara and first Bakhshi. He was the son and successor of Asad Khan who will be mentioned in the sequel, *cf.* p. 13.

⁴A kind of calico, made especially at Baroch. From the Persian *bafta* "woven," *cf.* Hobson-Jobson *iz.* *bafta*.

Hendrik, John Henry Kalden and John Conrad Kok and of our heathen Agents and delivered to the Ammerau, Hattum Beek Chan, who had been appointed by the Emperor to receive them. After the delivery the Deputies wished to return, but they were requested to stay that night in the Emperor's tent, inasmuch as His Majesty wished to inspect the presents, piece by piece, and there was nobody there capable of giving a proper explanation of the same.

They therefore remained and showed all the same to the Emperor, who took them piece by piece in his hands and appeared to take great delight therein.

In the meantime the Lord Isalam Chan informed the Lord Ambassador that it was the desire of His Majesty that he should come to the audience next morning which, however, on account of the foul weather, was postponed, by permission subsequently received, till Sunday following.

On 3rd January 1712, it being fine weather, he was invited to the Audience, whereupon His Honour said that he would go to his tent there, in order to be at hand and there to await further information as to when the Emperor would sit upon his throne. The Ambassador, accordingly, with all his suite, started on his way at nine o'clock in the morning, in the aforementioned order, save that all the military, headed by their leader, Ernest Theophilus Nythart, went on foot.

The road to be covered (route of our march) ran for more than one kos (or half a mile) through the camp of the eldest Prince, Mossoddien,¹ and lasted quite two kos more before we reached the tent of the Embassy. Thus we marched through the main of the Emperor's camp, very pleasantly situated beside the river Rary,² and arrived in the afternoon at the tent, where we rested until further orders.

Whilst we were waiting there, the Lord Ambassador was treated to breakfast by the aforementioned Lady, who asked to be excused on account of the roughness of the weather, saying that otherwise she would have shown His Honour more courtesies, to which His Honour again rendered a very polite answer.

About three o'clock in the afternoon His Honour received information that it was now time to appear before the Emperor, whereupon His Honour with all the Europeans, clerks and military, betook themselves there in procession as aforesaid.

As His Honour arrived at the kunats (or screens) of the Emperor's tent, it was found that all around, at a competent distance, it was thrice enclosed with a net of thick ropes. At the gate or entrance, we had to deliver our pistols and all other weapons, but the Lord Ambassador and his suite retained their swords, and

¹Mu'izz-ud-din, who on his accession assumed the name of Jahandar Shah.

²Ravi.

His Honour and likewise his Deputies, were allowed to approach near to the Canaats in their palanquins, and the others on horse-back, but the clerks and soldiers had to follow on foot, inasmuch as no vehicles were allowed to pass.

At the entrance to the Canaats the Ambassador was received by the Divan of the Chief of the Imperial Artillery, the Lord Isalam Chan, and inasmuch as the Emperor had not yet come forth, he was brought into the tent of his Lordship to take a little rest. The latter entertained him with diverse amiable discourses, amidst the sound of several kettle-drums and trumpets, the usual sign of the Emperor's appearance upon the throne.

Shortly thereafter His Honour received information of the appearance of His Majesty, whereupon His Honour with his deputies, having entered their palanquins again, went up to the kanaats.

These were of antique carpets, had three gates besides the one mentioned and covered in circuit quite a kos, or half a mile.

Within the same was seen an antique great tent of silk, with carpets wrought with gold and silver, and behind the same the Emperor's throne.

It stood upon an elevation made of earth and about five feet high. It was covered with carpets very artfully embroidered with gold, and had all round a silver railing at the distance of a hand's breath.

From the aforesaid entrance, that is from the middle of the three gates, was an alley of small flags of red silk, leading up to the fore-tent already mentioned, and below, as far as this stretched, enclosed by a wooden railing, the ground being laid with alcatives,² or carpets.

Inside these three gates of the canaats the Ambassador with his Deputies was received by the Master of the Ceremonies, Ammerauw Hattum Beek Chan, who commanded the Sjobdaars³ or guards, to admit all the Europeans. This, as the Gentleman told His Honour, was the express order of His Majesty.

Not only was this order punctually carried out, but the Gentleman also took the Lord Ambassador by the hand and conducted His Honour followed by his Deputies to the customary spot where the nobles, after the use of this country, were brought before the Emperor, and placed him furthermore inside the first wooden railing close to the aforesaid silver ditto, on the left hand of the Emperor

¹Anglo-Indian *canaut*, *conaut*, *connaught*, from Arabic "*qanūt*" the side wall of a tent, a canvas enclosure, *cf.* Hobson-Jobson *iv.*

²From Arabic *qatīf*, 'a carpet with long pile.'

³*Choldur* (Pers.), 'a stick-bearer,' *viz.* an attendant carrying a staff overlaid with silver. *Cf.* Hobson-Jobson, *iv.* *chobara*.

and his throne, amongst the row of Ammerauws, whilst his Deputies were placed some paces further back.

The remaining Europeans did likewise pay their complement before His Majesty, but had to stay outside.

As soon as the Lord Ambassador entered, he immediately presented the intended Nesser of gold rupees, and therewith the gold casket in which was enclosed the letter from His Excellency the Lord Governor-General of Netherlands East-India.¹

His Honour's Deputies also presented each a Nesser of gold rupees. The Lord Ambassador, on receiving a sign, personally handed over his to the Officer-in-Command of the Artillery, Islam Chan, who stood with all the grandees around the Emperor on the aforementioned earthen platform. But those of the Deputies were received by Hattum Beek Chan, who in his turn handed them to Islam Chan.

This Gentleman showed them all to His Majesty, who duly accepted them.

Shortly after His Honour with his Deputies was conducted by Hattum Beek Chan along the silver railing sideways behind the Emperor's Throne and a robe of honour of gold brocade thrown over his European dress, whilst a turban and Patha was wound round His Honour's hat.

His Honour's Deputies also received each a silver robe of honour, and further royal presents like the Lord Ambassador. They were then conducted back along the silver railing to the place where they had paid their respects. Here they must thank the Emperor for the honour received with three kornus or bows, according to the use of the country, and were then all three led up to the silver railing before the Emperor's Throne. As soon as they arrived there, the Emperor rose and went inside, accompanied by his sons, the Princes Djihaan Daar Sjah² and Djehaan Sjah³ who were seated a little below His Majesty on the right and left side.

Hereupon all the Ammerauws and also the Ambassador went home, but with such a concourse of men that everyone feared to be crushed to death. After passing the Cannat His Honour and the Deputies mounted their palanquins again, and departed with their suite in the same order in which they had come to Court, and reached their garden again at nine o'clock in the evening.

The presentation elephants and horses had not then been able to be presented to the Monarch owing to the short notice in granting the audience. This was done on the 4th January. According to

¹Abraham von Richeck (the son of Johan von Richeck, the founder of Cape-Town) borne at the Cape in 1653, was Governor-General from 30th October 1709 to 17th November 1713, the date of his death.

²Jahandar Shah.

³Jahan Shah, the fourth son of the Emperor.

the etiquette of the country, they were then sent back to the Lord Ambassador, although only with the object that this costly present might be the better seen of the people.

On the same afternoon the Emperor sent by a Mancepdaar a complete repast of delicate viands, prepared in the Mogul fashion, in an enamelled gold service, and half an hour thereafter several large dishes of apples, pears, pomegranates oranges, etc. for which the Lord Ambassador must perform three Imperial salaams or salutations, (as indeed in such cases even the Empresses and Princes have to do).

After the repast, which the clerks witnessed, the messengers were, as is the use of the country, presented with betels, rosewater and a competent present in coin. The latter is strictly necessary to retain the Emperor's favour, as he would otherwise take it ill: indeed he is used to make express enquiries regarding this, and thereby to estimate, how much or how little his gift is regarded.

On the day following Mr. Ketelaar was apprised that the Emperor would appear again, whereupon His Honour went anew with his Deputies, and the nine elephants and nine horses, and offered the same to him. He accepted the latter, but for the acceptance of the former there was no time, owing to the fall of darkness.

After His Honour had made his salutations, he was presented by the Emperor with a Hindoostani candger¹ or dagger, studded with precious stones,—according to the testimony of all, an unusual favour.

The Lord Ambassador, put it in the Moorish fashion into his porte-epée, or bandolier, and expressed his gratitude by three cornus, that is, *beating three times very low with the right hand down to the ground and in rising beating it against the forehead*

On the 6th ditto the aforementioned elephants were presented to the Emperor and accepted with marks of pleasure, and inasmuch as the Emperor's consorts had taken a fancy to the European carriage brought from Surat, His Majesty set to beg the same of the Ambassador on the 8th. Whereupon the bullocks were put to it and with its further appointments it was presented to His Majesty.

In the meanwhile the presents intended for the Imperial Princes were divided, in order to win them also to the interests of the Hon. Company.

Donna Juliana then came to call upon the Lord Ambassador and was very nobly received by him for the space of half an hour. She inspected everything with much pleasure but remarked that, in order to satisfy the greedy disposition of Prince Mahmud, Lord

¹ *Kang-a-indee hanjer*, from the Arabic *khunja*. "The *khunja* in India is a large double-edged dagger with a very broad base and a slight curve." (*Hobson-Jobson*)

Chancellor Priy Seal of the Realm, and to expedite our affairs, His Honour would do well to set apart for His Highness somewhat more than for his brothers, and that His Honour might be pleased to offer the presents as speedily as possible to the Princes; which was done.

The Princes Mahmmud Azem and Refic² Shah,² were just then with the Emperor, and the presents were therefore brought back for the time being; but the goods sent to the other Princes were kindly accepted.

On the 11th ditto he sent the goods again to Their Highnesses; but they took only some pieces thereof, and sent the rest back, as a sign of their generosity and with the assurance that they would not bear the Hon. Company less favour on that account than the Princes their brothers.

On the 12th ditto some presents were also sent to Soulficar Chan (the son of Assed Chan,¹ Governor of Delhi, and a good friend to the Hon. Company), a gentleman of laudable qualities, and first in rank next to the Imperial Princes. These His Excellency very graciously accepted.

On the 15th the same was done to the very influential Ammarauw and Provisional Chancellor of the Realm, Enayt Ullah Chan,² a great favourite of Prince Mahmmud Azem; but His Excellency took only three pairs of spectacles, and returned the rest with the assurance of his friendship.

On the 18th ditto the Lord Ambassador waited upon the Emir ul Ammarauw, Soulficar Chan; immediately on his arrival he was taken to the seat of the Prince, and very amiably received. After paying the compliments of salutation, His Honour offered the Prince a nesser of gold rupees.

His Excellency took only one, laid his hand upon the rest, according to the polite use of the Country, and desired the Lord Ambassador to keep them; but upon the latter insisting, he finally accepted them.

Thereupon the Prince invited him to sit down at a small distance from him and the Deputies were placed somewhat lower down. After some compliments in the Hindoostani language, the Ambassador begged that His Excellency might be pleased, both here at Court and in all further solicitations, to favour the Hon. Company, (which well remembered the kindness of his father, Assed Chan, late Chancellor of the Realm). This he promised, saying that he did not doubt of a good issue, objecting only to one point, the raising of a new factory-house outside Suratte. The Lord

²Rafi'-ush-shan, the third son of the Emperor.

¹Asad Khan.

²Inayat-ul ah Khan.

Ambassador would have liked to give His Excellency the reasons for this at once, had he not feared to trespass against the uses of the Court, as the first visit and the discourses on that occasion must be made as brief as possible. His Honour was therefore obliged to postpone this to a better opportunity.

The Prince, who was glad to hear mention made of the friendship shown by his father to the Hon. Company, asked whether the Ambassador had not called on his father in Delhi. Hereupon His Honour said that he had wished to do so, but had had no opportunity, owing to the Moorish month of fasting (when the Mahomedans receive no visits).

At the same time His Honour also requested of His Excellency recommendations to the Governor of Suratte, so that the further presents sent from Batavia might be forwarded.

He instantly procured this for the Ambassador, ratified it with his Seal, handed it to His Honour and said furthermore that he would present the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies with robes of honour. He would not, however, do so in public, but send them to him. He also himself handed to Mr. Ketelaar an Indian 'banquet' of betel,¹ for which that Gentleman and his Deputies thanked the Prince, after which they took their leave.

On January 24th His Honour, hearing that the Emperor wished it, again betook himself to the Court, and was brought by Hattum Beek Chan into the tent of Heyaat Chan,² Chief Eunuch of the first Empress, and an Ammerau of five thousand horse, and was there presented with a golden robe of honour, while his Deputies each received a silver ditto, in the name of the Empress, and this in return for the European carriage, concerning which difficulties had already arisen amongst the Emperesses, but it had been granted by the Emperor to his favourite wife, the which was so pleasing to the Princess that she had herself daily pulled about in it by her eunuchs, amidst great merriment, behind the Canaats. With this Donna Juliana had already acquainted the Lord Ambassador.

From here His Honour with his Deputies or followers, was brought before the Throne by Hattum Beek Chan, where His Honour, having made the fitting salutation, was distinguished by His Majesty by a special present of a golden rose set with delicate stones and a tassel of pearls of which the centre³ was also of gold, and decorated with small jewels, such as pertained to the candier or dagger, which His Honour had lately received; for which distinction His Honour again made three salaams, and then received his dismissal.

¹The expression 'a banquet of betel' occurs several times in the account of the Embassy.

²Hayat Khan.

³The original has 'krop,' the meaning of which is not clear.

The Emperor had also heard that the Lord Ambassador had amongst his followers several performers of Music, upon which His Majesty on 26th ditto caused a request to be proffered by Miss Juliana, that these musicians might be heard the following night in the Emperor's Mahal;¹ whereupon this lady sent one of her attendants to conduct them thither.

Hereupon His Honour gave orders that the Assistants and first Clerk, Johan Coenrad Kok, Cornelius Kammert and Adolff van Rensen, etc. should betake themselves thither, who accordingly departed towards evening, and came to the tent of the Lady, standing about a musket shot from the Emperor's Canaats, where they had to remain until dark.

They were then fetched by a Mancepdaar; before the Canaats each of them was asked his name, this written down and he then admitted.

They were brought by a roundabout back way by the river, to the lodging of the Chansamma,² or Dispenser of the aforesaid Mahal a distinguished eunuch, who begged them to be seated.

They perceived a great crowd of women, all curious to see the Europeans, who quarrelled so angrily over the places that they tore to pieces the curtains, which were only of fine linen, in order to be better able to see.

They also, through the eunuch, expressed their desire to be allowed to hear some pieces before the arrival of the Emperor, at which a little beginning was made to please them.

Shortly afterwards they were conducted through several Canaats to an apartment of scarlet cloth, before which a fine zik³ or screen-mat was hung, and there the Emperor, with his most important wives, besides Donna Juliana, were seated.

The musiciars, instructed, herein by the last named lady, made three salaams before Their Majesties, as is the use of the country, then began their harmony, with a double bass, harp and hautbois, with which Their Majesties were so ravished that they must continue their music till past midnight.

Donna Juliana came to assure them of the great delight which the Emperor and Empresses took in the same, and added that Niher (Mihr?) Perwer, the first Empress, as a mark of her pleasure, sent them a very generous present, at which the Lady recommended them to perform three salaams as leave taking the which they did.

The Emperor also commanded that he should be told the names of the instruments, and that they should be laid, piece for piece,

¹Seraglio.

²Khansaman.

³Chick. "a kind of screen-blind made of finely-split bamboo, laced with twine, and often painted on the outer side. It is hung or framed in doorways or windows, both in houses and in tents" (Hobson-Jobson).

before the zik or screen-mat, seeing that His Majesty with his Consorts wished to come forth and view them. During which coming forth of the Emperor the lady recommended them to go a short way off for a little while which, accompanied by several eunuchs, they did.

After the Emperor and his suite had inspected the musical instruments, by the orders of Donna Juliana, they were again called in and were permitted to pass the remainder of the night in her tent.

In the meantime the Emperor inquired of Donna Juliana whether the Ambassador would like to view the Imperial pleasure garden, named Salamar,¹ lying outside Lahore together with the Palace Paerimahal,² situated in the Town; she replied that, inasmuch as the Emperor was pleased to show them that favour, this would be very agreeable to them; whereupon His Majesty immediately gave orders to the eunuch, overseer of the first mentioned place, and an Ammerauw of 3,000 horses, that on the arrival of the Lord Ambassador with his suite, not only should he show everything to him, but moreover cause all the fountains to play.

Of all these matters Donna Juliana gave the Ambassador timely news, who on January 28th following betook himself with all his suite thither, and at the gate of the garden was very politely received by a eunuch, and further treated in accordance with His Majesty's commands.

The place was very large and filled with a variety of fruit trees. The Alleys run between very tall cypress trees, and are architecturally ornamented at regular intervals or spaces with magnificent Imperial pleasure houses, to the number of two and thirty that form an agreeable prospect, the same being greatly enhanced by a number of artful cataracts, which could be seen gushing along the Alleys, and through the pleasure houses; all of which matters are daily kept in order by a hundred and twenty-eight gardeners.

After viewing this, the Ambassador was presented by the eunuch with a 'banquet' of fruits, for which His Honour (such as was the Emperor's command) must turn his brow towards the Emperor's tent in the Moorish fashion, and perform three salaams.

The eunuch then requested His Honour that the Ensign, Ernest Nythart, might go through the drill and that he might witness it. This took place at his request, and Mr. Ketelaar moreover ordered three sa'utes to be fired in honour of His Imperial Majesty, for which the eunuch, full of admiration, thanked His Honour.

¹The well-known Shalimar Bagh, situated five miles east of Lahore on the road to Amritsar, was laid out in the sixth year of Shah Jahan's reign or in A.D. 1634. Cf. Latif, *Lahore*, pp. 140—144 and 246—249.

²Pari Mahal or Fairy Palace, a mansion in Lahore city, built by Wazir Khan, minister of Shah Jahan, who used it as his private residence, *vide* Latif, *Lahore*, p. 231.

On the 29th ditto His Honour with his suite, also viewed the Palace Paerimahah, otherwise styled the Court of Nymphs.

It lay in the City and was a beautiful piece of work, where in a large gallery the image of our Saviour surrounded by the Angels was very artfully hewn in alabaster.

In a good hour His Honour found here the eldest Prince, Mosoddien, or Djehaan Daar Sjah, being accompanied by his principal wives.

His Highness was reputed a Prince of great condescension and in particular of great favour towards the Christians, whereof he gave the Lord Ambassador many tokens.

Moreover His Highness requested of the Ambassador that the musicians, who on the 26th ditto had played in the Emperor's Mahal, might also be sent to him. This His Honour promised to do on his return, which took place accordingly.

They were conducted by a Heathen of importance to the apartment of the Prince, and made music there for a time before His Highness and his Consort, with such good success that the Prince then came to sit with them, listening to them with delight for three hours on end, and at length dismissing them with a competent present.

A few days later, the third Prince also, Refiel Sjah, requested of the Lord Ambassador to have his musicians, to whom they played all night, and then took their leave with a present.

Prince Mesoddien was not satisfied with the hearing of these musicians, but also wished to see the practice, or military exercises of the Hollanders, and requested of the Lord Ambassador, therefore, on February 1st that he might be present at the same, before the garden of Donna Juliana.

His Highness was there early with his wives and had all the roads lined with his people.

As the Ambassador just then had an attack of fever, His Honour arranged, however, that everything should take place in very good order, in the presence of both his Deputies accompanied by all the clerks and writers, and that the Prince should be saluted by them with full ceremony.

The Ensign, Nythart, in the meantime, assembled his Grenadiers in their full equipment, the Prince with his suite appeared at nine o'clock before the garden, as did likewise the Deputies or Adjuncts, the Under-Merchant Haak, the Secretary Bruinink, the Upper-master¹ Eppendorp and the further Europeans, where they remained.

After witnessing these exercises, the Prince was saluted by Mr. Beerenaard and the second Deputy, Dirk Huisinkveld, as well as the others, with three salaams.

¹The chief surgeon; cf. above p. 4.

As now the Lord Ambassador (owing to sickness) had not been at Court for some time and the Emperor had been made acquainted with this by Donna Juliana, His Majesty on February 16th A. 1712 sent to enquire after his health, through Hattum Beek Chan who assured him of the Emperor's favour in regard to his affairs, and gave him hopes of a speedy expedition thereof.

Mr. Ketelaar, being somewhat better, betook himself on the 21st ditto to Court, appeared before the throne and through Hattum Beek Chan offered His Majesty a nesser of gold rupees and a letter in the Persian tongue to tell why he had not appeared at Court.

He received there great signs of the Emperor's favour, through the acceptance of his present, and departed only after the retirement of His Majesty.

According to the word of all the Courtiers and Statesmen at the Court, such marks of favour had never been given to any Ambassador, however high or important, by any Mogul Emperor, wherefore he had hopes that he might be the more favourably and speedily expedited, and the occasion be given him to quit this unhealthy climate, and to return to Suratte as soon as possible.

The 27th ditto Donna Juliana let the Lord Ambassador know that the first points of the Hon. Company's request, after long delay on the part of Prince Mahlmud Azem were at last signed and sealed by His Highness's Diwan or Deputy, the Ammerau Wesaret Chan (Wazarat Khan), and the other Ammerauws, and that His Imperial Majesty had also granted the other points and commanded that they should be put to paper as speedily as possible.

This was a most favourable breeze, but one which speedily fell, seeing that on the very day of congratulation, by the evening all was in tumult and confusion. The troops of the four Princes were all seen riding to and fro, and each of them was pressing to separate his army from the others, the one preparing himself against the other.

The reason of this was the weak state of the Emperor, beginning with a chill and ending with an apoplectic fit, which put them in fear for his life and recovery; wherefore, in case he should come to die, each put means in hand to secure himself the Realm.

The flight of the armies, together with a number of households having an interest in the same, was extremely great, and the road to Lahore was blocked with baggage to such an extent, that it could not be used, and by reason of the great increase thereof, towards night could not even be approached.¹

Prince Shah Aalem, XIIIth in succession, is here shown from

*Twelve miles.

¹On the great confusion attending Shah 'Alam's death, cf. F. G. Keene *A Sketch of the Hindustan* (London 1885), p. 283.

the life, in a splendid cloth of gold upper robe, and his Consort, the Mother of the succeeding Emperor, also in a splendid cloth-of-gold long kabaay¹ strewn with bouquets.

On the afternoon of February 23th the Emperor, Sjah Aalem Bhadur, came to die, of which the Lord Ambassador was informed in confidence by a faithful friend at Court and it was added that His Majesty had very earnestly recommended his eldest son, Prince Mosoddien, or Djehaan Daar Sjah to the most important Ammeraus and had declared him to be the most competent as his successor.

Donna Juliana informed His Honour of this on the 29th ditto by a letter, and cautioned him at the same time to be on his guard against plundering, as this usually went on until a new Emperor was established.

His Honour therefore had the entrances of his garden as quickly as possible bricked up, and the goods of the Hon. Company brought there, while he went in and out through the door of the adjacent second garden. He also provided himself with two hundred Natives to be in the better state of resistance.

Sjah Aalem Bhadur died thus, after having reigned five years *minus* eight days, on the 28th February A. 1712, being sixty-eight years of age and four months, seeing that he was born in the month of November A. 1653.²

It was said that one of his Field Commanders, whom he discovered with one of his concubines, Jensiati (Jamshid?) Chan by name, caused his death and with a dagger ripped open his belly, being assured that he himself would otherwise be a dead man; but neither did he escape this, as he was immediately hacked to pieces by two bodyguards, who pursued him into the women's quarters.

Sjah Aalem, although so severely wounded, remained about three days in life; but gave up the ghost on the 3rd day.

He left four sons, to wit, Moeseeddien (usually for convenience called Moseddien) or also Djehaan Daar Sjah, who was then fifty years and eight months, and himself had three sons, of whom the eldest, called Assoddien,³ was already a Prince of thirty years, but the two other Princes were still young.

The Emperor's second Son, or the next to Prince Mosoddien, was Mahhmud Azem, who was also sometimes called Azem Ussan Bhadur. He was seven and forty years and four months old, and had also three Sons, of which the eldest was called Mahhmud Car'em, the second Forch Sjeer and the third Hamam Bax,⁴ the eldest being a Prince of about thirty, the next of five and twenty and the

¹Cabaya, "the surcoat or long tunic of muslin, which is one of the most common native garments of the better classes in India" (Hobson-Jobson).

²This must be October 1643. The length of Shah 'Alam's reign is correctly stated, so that 1653 is evidently a misprint.

³A'zz-ud-din.

⁴Muhammad Kasim, Farrukhsiyar, and Humayun Bakht.

youngest about eight years old.

The third son of Shah Aalem, was Refiel Sjah.¹ He was forty years and three months old. He had two sons of which one was ten and the other seven years old.

The last son of the Emperor was Djehaan Sjah,² a Prince of seven and thirty years and six months, and who had two very young sons living.

Each of these Princes tried, by a wide distribution of money, to win the nobles and the people to his side; but Mahmud Azem outshone them all in great treasure, gold coins and strength of people, notwithstanding that the Emir ul Armerau, Suilicaan Chan, had supported the eldest Prince, Mosoddien, with nine laks of gold rupees and with all his Jewels, a generous example which almost all the other nobles of the Realm followed, out of love of this Prince, for his amiable and sociable temper. This Lord also prevailed so far with the other Princes of the blood, that Refiel Sjah and Djehaan Sjah declared themselves for their eldest Brother and against Prince Mahmud Azem, whereto the impatient and vindictive temper of the Prince Mahmud Azem had given great cause.

To draw this bond of union closer between the three Princes, it was mutually agreed that Prince Refiel Sjah should be Sovereign King of Bengal and Djehaan Sjah Sovereign Prince of the kingdoms of Choromandel and Decan.

The first act of Prince Mosoddien was to write to the Soubaas³ and Provincial Governors to take care that Farochsjeer did not leave Bengal with his troops, nor unite himself to the bands of his father, Prince Mahmud Azem, against the lawful successor to the Kingdom; yet in spite of all precautions, owing to the great indolence of the eldest Prince, the Emperor Mosoddien, Prince Mahmud Azem grew so mighty that that Sovereign was obliged to surround his camp with a circle of double intrenchments.

In this general rising of the Princes one against the other, no thought was given to the affairs of the Hon. Company, just as little as to the Lord Ambassador; except that His Honour also was not free from danger.

Thus was much time lost for nothing, which also caused the Hon. Company great expense and that too, without the least Guarantee for their affairs, even if he, as being the Prince most wished for, should remain upon the throne.

As if these were not troubles enough for Mr. Ketelaar, this was added to them that on March 3rd the eldest Prince sent a Firman or command in writing, ordering him with all his people

¹Rafi-ush-shan.

²Jahan Shah.

³Soubah, i.e. Pers. *Suba*, a large Division or Province of the Moghul Empire, e.g. the Suba of the Deccan. The word is here used short for Subadar or Viceroy.

to join His Highness, and help against his Brother.

The Lord Ambassador took council on the matter with his Deputies, and returned an answer in very polite terms, saying, besides that he was sick, this did not lie within his power, and that he hoped, therefore, to be excused in the matter.

His request was granted, and His Honour further advised to betake himself to the city, which had declared for His Highness, as the other Princes would otherwise be sure to ask him and possibly to force him, in the same way. This advice the Lord Ambassador gratefully followed the very same day, hiring three Kettera¹ or inns in the city, in which he established himself that evening, with several Europeans, and was followed the next day by the rest of his people, with the goods, to escape the pillage, which increased all around everyday.

In the meantime Soulficaar Chan pressed Mahhmud Azam so nearly by a small manœuvre, posting himself in four separate divisions and causing great scarcity of provisions, in his camp, that the armies were thereby forced to approach each other, and from twelve hundred pieces continuously cannonaded one another.

Mosoddien, assured of the favour of the Cazi, or Spiritual Judge at Lahore (a Lord of no less consideration amongst the Mohammedan clergy than the Pope in the Church of Rome) and having been informed that the Son of the deceased Lord Chancellor Chanchanaan and Mohabeth Chan Bhadur Seffer Jeng³ had made a secret agreement with Mahhmud Azam, thought it advisable to have the former thrown into prison, and his considerable property confiscated, while the latter had betaken himself to Mahhmud Azam.

They found there great store of treasure, of silver, gold and other goods, consisting of sixty thousand gold Rupees, twenty *man* uncoined gold, and about seventy *man* uncoined silver, and the worth of four lak of rupees in men's and women's apparel, all of which was brought to His Majesty.

After they had cannonaded one another, then, for six days and nights continuously, Mahhmud Azam was attacked by his youngest brother, Prince Djehaan Sjah on March 17th and forced to risk a very uncertain and terrible battle.

He approached Djehaan Sjah with various deceitful signs of friendship, such as the waving of his nose kerchief, appearing as if he would come over to his side; but attacked him with several thousand Gatanders⁵ (the best warriors in this country) very furi-

¹Hindi *katra*.

²Khan Khanan.

³Mahabat Khan Bahadur, Safdar Jang.

⁴Hindi *man*, Ang o-indice. maund.

⁵Pathans under the command of Sulaiman Khan Ganni and Shah Nawaz Khan.

ously caused him to fall back, captured his cannon, and would have defeated that Prince completely, had he not been lacking in several things.

Djehaan Sjah, quickly recovering himself, attacked him anew, and had the good fortune to vanquish Prince Mahmmud Sjah and to so strike him as he sat upon his Elephant first with an arrow in the head and then with a musket shot in the breast, that he died thereof.¹

This was the cause that the youngest son of the deceased, named Hamambax,² was taken prisoner and brought to the Castle of Lahore.

What had become of the eldest, Mahmmud Car'em³ was not known.

Everything being now as it seemed, brought into a state of quiet, and Mosoddien having become master also of his Brother's great treasure, the victorious Prince, inspite of his two other Brothers, who were stirred up against him by this and that nobleman, and brought by jealousy to destroy their compact, became A. 1712 the eight and thirtieth Emperor of the illustrious Moghul Kingdom, so celebrated throughout all India, and the fourteenth Moghul in the direct succession from Tamerlain.

Although he might have taken advantage of his superiority over the other Princes his Brothers, he did not do so, but showed his equity towards them with regard to the great treasures which he had gained by the death of Prince Mahmmud.

He wished (which was the extremity of fairness) to divide this into three equal parts; but Prince Djehaan Sjah was so indiscreet as to dare to demand one-half for himself, as well as half of the Jewels left by their Father, Sjah Aalem Bhadur, all of which not being granted, this much inflated Prince suddenly took himself off.

Shortly after, he thought with five hundred men to turn Soulficaar Chan out of his encampment; but this was discovered, and

¹The account of 'Azim-ush-shan's death is summarised by Mr. Irvine from native historians as follows: "In a little while a shot from one of the heavy guns struck the trunk of the elephant on which Prince 'Azim-ush-shan was riding. The elephant turned and fled towards the Ravi, the rider fell off, and Ja'al Khan, Lodi, the attendant in the hind seat, clambered down by the ropes and escaped. Such was the terror of the elephant that it outstripped the dust itself had raised. Amin-ud-din and others galloped in pursuit at the top of their horses' speed, in the hope of barring the elephant's further flight. All was in vain; they were left far behind in the race. Suddenly the elephant disappeared over the high bank overlooking the stream; when the pursuers reached the edge and looked down, all they saw was the heaving mud and sand, from which issued the most frightful roaring. The elephant and the Prince had been swallowed up by a quicksand."

²Humayun Bakht.

³Muhammad Karim.

his men so admirably received by the cannon, that most of them forgot to return.

Between the 25th and 26th of March Soulficaar Chan set fire to the powder magazine of Djehaan Sjah, which enraged that Prince so greatly that he swore to revenge it sabre in hand, and so either to make himself Emperor or die fighting.

He had courage in sufficiency but great lack of money, the very sinew of war, and the first incentive to the Soldiers, so that he was obliged to sacrifice his silver plate for the payment of their arrears, already grown somewhat great.

Thereupon, on the Emperor's side, the order of battle was made in four divisions in such manner that Prince Refiel Sjah should attack the enemy first, the Emperor's eldest son, Prince Assodien, support him, Soulficaar Chan lead the third division and the Ammeratuw Koekeltaas Chan,¹ make the fourth attack.

In the meantime, Prince Djehaan Sjah had managed to *get* some more powder, so that on March 27th he not only opened a heavy cannonade, but on the 28th made a furious attack with the most part of his power upon the Emperor's army, intending to overcome him; but he was so warmly received by a troop of ten thousand men, that he was immediately driven back, and forced to abandon the posts already taken, and to retire to his own defences.

The cannonade continued from early in the morning till one o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the armies joined issue; but in a manner contrary to expectation; for the Emperor was attacked in front by Djehaan Sjah and, against all expectation by Refiel Sjah treacherously from behind, notwithstanding that he had been granted five and twenty laks of rupees, and more things besides; and was by his cannon, arrows and muskets so distressed, that he would have run sore danger, if Soulficaar Chan with a thousand of his best horse had not frustrated this treacherous blow, and by a small detour, falling upon Djehaan Sjah from behind, scattered his power, thereby throwing him into flight; and with about eighty more who were with him, so successfully surrounded him, that with diverse bullet and arrow shots he shot him dead on his elephant.

Notwithstanding this, Refiel Sjah, following up his act of treachery, in the evening resumed a heavy cannonade of the Emperor's army, the which amply replied through the whole night.

The 29th ditto in the morning, an hour before sunrise, the Prince with his whole power betook themselves to the open field, intending to renew the strife.

He was as one possessed, and driven so far by his despair that, against the advice of all his friends, he risked one more chance; but he failed miserably, as, being just arrived there, he

¹Kokaltash Khan.

was so hit by a cannon ball that he fell dead to earth from his Elephant.

His dead body was immediately brought before the Emperor, who for some time left it contemptuously to lie on the ground, saying that a traitor deserved no more; but at last His Majesty allowed it to be brought to the Imperial Mausoleum at Delhi, with the corpses of the Princes, Mahmud Azam and Djelhaan Sjah.

Thus one month's time had witnessed the Emperor dead and four Princes, with an army of nearly twice a hundred thousand men in motion, who delivered three actions in the field against each other, where the three youngest left their lives, and therewith the Realm, to the eldest and lawful, and to the Christians most benign Prince.

The Emperor's army consisted of twenty thousand Horse and thirty thousand Foot-soldiers.

That of Prince Mahmud Azam consisted of thirty thousand Horse and forty thousand foot.

The army of Prince Refiel Sjah consisted of eight thousand Horse and as many foot soldiers; while that of Prince Djelhaan Sjah was five and twenty thousand Horse, and thirty thousand foot.

Thus all these armies consisted of hundred and ninety-one thousand men; but how many each of them had lost cannot be said.

The first thing done by Emperor Mosoddien was to revive the Law, which had been greatly neglected owing to the weak government of the former Emperor.

Many of those who had rebelled against the former and the present Emperor were beheaded, others imprisoned, or deprived of their offices; amongst whom were:¹ Hhamedodien Chan Bhadur, Mahâbet Chan, Bhadur Chan, Semaan Chan, Bhadur, Rhemet Jaar Chan, Octemaan Chaan, Rehiem Ullah Chan, Jemaal Ullah Chan, Fettehmaksoed Chan, Jettehnesret Chan, Seif-Ullah Chan, Seraf-raan Chan Bhadur, Bhère Jaab Chan, Aka Beek Chan, Ray-Kisserising, Ray Bhegoti, Soer Chan, Atta-Ullah Chan, Ray Fetteh Sjend, Monohez Chan, Asailet Chan, Nesarret Chan, Fakier Ullah Chan, Momin Chan, Achsem Chan, Seif Chan, all of whom are at the moment still in confinement with the Coetewaal² of Lahore and whose goods have been confiscated to the Emperor.

Lubfullah Chan, after the surrender of thirty lak of Rupees, was reinstated.

Jani Chan, Astni Chan, Ray Bhelamel, Hhakiem ul Molk, Ray Rayahan were released, but also dismissed from their offices, and deprived of their goods, these being apportioned to the Emperor.

Jesin Chan, Mobesser Chan, Abdul Rahlhman Chan and Seer Afger Chan, were, as concerns their persons and their goods, treated

¹Mr. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, p. 163 f.) reproduces the above list of names in their correct forms.

²Kotwal or Sheriff.

in the same way.

Rustrmdil Chan, and Mochelis Chan,¹ during the fighting had presumed to force their way into the Mahal of the dead Emperor, there violated some of the women, and after this outrage, even to rob the same of their Jewels.²

For this, three days long, they were exposed to be beaten with shoes (the deepest disgrace in that Country) by all who would, after that, beheaded, arms and legs lopped off, and their limbs hung upon the trees, as a warning to others.

The four surviving Princes of Refiel Sjah and Djehaan Sjah, although young and innocent, were at the Emperor's orders thrown into prison in the Castle of Lahore according to the Mongol custom.

Sultan Mahhmud Cariem (also called Cariem Eddien) eldest Son of Prince Mahhmud Azam, had lain hidden for some time in Lahore, but gave himself up to the Emperor through one of the eunuchs, sued for pardon and received it, although only for a short time; for not long after, on the accusation of Koekeltaas Chan who, when visiting him, although a great favourite of the Emperors, he had very foully abused, as well as for other signs of his low nature, he was beheaded.

The 1st April the Lord Ambassador went to Soulficaar Chan, to sound him concerning the affairs of the Hon. Company. He promised him a favourable issue, made the matter his own, promised to procure him a speedy audience with the Emperor, had the honour to receive Betels from his hands, and then took his leave.

The second ditto His Honour with all his following, to avoid the high house rent, betook himself again to the garden where he had formerly sojourned.

A certain Radja wished to take it for himself, but Soulficaar gave the Ambassador notice of the same and had the other frustrated.

Many of His Majesty's friends were shortly afterwards greatly advanced; as is seen from the following list³ of those promoted by Djehaan Daar Sjah.

Nisaam ul Mo'k Aseful Daulet, otherwise called Assed Chan, was made Advocate-General, or General Superintendent of Pleas, Keeper of the Great Seal of the Realm, with an income of twelve thousand Mansel (each thousand reckoned at sixteen hundred and fifty Rupees) and twelve thousand Horsemen per month, at the Emperor's expense.

Emier ul Ammerauw, Bhadur Nesret Jeng Sepeh Salaar Jaar,

¹Rustam Dil Khan and Mukhils Khan, who had been prominent among the followers of Jahan Shah.

²Possibly this refers to the incident related by Mr. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, p. 162).

³The list with the names in their correct forms is reproduced by Mr. Irvine (*Later Mughals*, p. 160 f.).

Wofadaar, or Soulficaar Chan, Lord Chancellor of the Realm, with ten thousand Mansel and as many Horsemen.

Chan Djehaan, Bhadur Nesret Jeng Sepch Serdaar Kokeltaas, first Baksi General or Pay Master of the Horse, Daroga or Superintendent of the Emperor's slaves, had eight thousand horses and also as many Mansel.

Chan Dobraan Bhadur, second Baksi General, drew six thousand Mansel and had five thousand Horsemen.

Monteza Chan Bhadur, third Ditto General, had five thousand Mansel and four thousand Horsemen.

Chaje Hossein Chan, fourth Baksi General, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand Horsemen.

Souraat Chan Bhadur, Joolb (read: Toob) Cannaka Daroga,¹ or General of the Artillery, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand horsemen.

Bheremend Chan, Master General of the Imperial Horse, First Master of Ceremonies, or Introducer of all foreign Ambassadors, had the same amount of each.

Saad U'llah Chan M'atekid, Steward of the Imperial Household,² had five thousand Mansel and four thousand Horsemen.

Seffer Chan, Daroga Fiel Channa,³ or Superintendent General of the Elephants, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand Horsemen.

Hasret Koelli Chan, Asptabe'ka Daroga,⁴ or first Master of the Stables, had four thousand Mansel and three thousand Horsemen.

Achlaas Khan, General Master of Petitions or Public Intercessor, had three thousand Mansel and two thousand Horsemen.

Ragie Selhasjed Divan⁵ or second Deputy of the Lord High Chancellor had Horsemen and Mansel as above.

Djehaandaar Koelli Chan, Daroga of the Robes of Honour, had the same of both.

Serbra Chan, Sheriff-General, drew the same.

Nobet Chan, Daroga of the Kettledrums, had three thousand Mansel and two thousand Horsemen.

Abdul Semede Chan, Sedder⁶ or Senen-Master General had the same.

Seriet Chan, Cazi⁷ General or Judge Spiritual, had likewise the same.

¹Topkhanah ka Daroghah.

²*i.e.* Khansaman.

³Daroghah-i-Filkhanah.

⁴Daroghah-i-Asp-Tave'ah.

⁵Real. Sebha Sjend Divan, *i.e.* Sabha Chand, Divan, a Khatri, lately made a Raja, a man whose harshness and bad temper were notorious (Irvine's *Later Mughals*, p. 170).

⁶Sudder (Arabic *sadr*=chief).

⁷Cazee (Arabic *qadi*).

Hattum Beek Chan, Book-keeper to the General Master of the Horses of the Imperial Cavalry, had five and twenty hundred Mausel and fifteen hundred Horsemen.

Johan Whelo, Serdaar Frengiaan¹ or Captain of the Europeans in the Emperor's service, drew as much Mausel, but had only five hundred Horsemen.

Molla Mohhammad Aali, Serchey² to the Emperor's Mother, is the last of the favourites who we here enumerate.

On April 7th the Lord Ambassador, Ketelaar, went with his Deputies, to an audience, and was immediately brought into the Aada'et³ or Audience tent of the Ammarauws and given a position of higher rank amongst the nobles than by the former Emperor.

His Honour then congratulated the Emperor and at the Emperor's command received Betels from the eunuchs, an honour which his Deputies also enjoyed.

His Majesty also gave orders to have them covered with robes of honour, and presents to be given them; but the Commissioner or senechal of the robes of honour, having none worthy of the Ambassador in readiness, proffered his excuses until a future occasion, and thereupon His Honour received an honourable dismissal.

The 10th ditto His Honour with his Deputies or Adjuncts, again went to greet the Emperor, and was honoured by His Majesty with a golden Cerpauw,⁴ or Robe of Honour, as were his Deputies or Adjuncts with silver dittos.

His Honour in the meantime had a paper presented to His Majesty, wherein he begged that His Majesty would be pleased to grant the same matters conceded by his Father, the deceased Emperor; which was favourably received, and the Lord High Chancellor recommended to have care for the same.

His Honour had also proffered a complaint against the Souba of Asmeer,⁵ Sousirat Chan, or rather his General, Taberall Chan, for wringing money from His Honour on the way to Agra; for which he was deprived of all his dignities by the Emperor, and summoned to answer for his not having obeyed the commands of the deceased Emperor.

The 14th ditto His Majesty went to a Mesdjid,⁶ or Praying Place, lying beyond the Ambassador's garden, wherefore my Lord

¹Sardar-i-Firingiyan. Mr. Irvine calls him Jahan Whelo, which is evidently due to an oversight. In the original his first name is Johan, i.e. John. He must have been a European.

²Persian *sar-khail* "the chief of a band" or "a captain of cavalry."

³Arabic *'adalat* "a tribunal."

⁴Persian *sar-o-pa*, meaning "from head to foot," viz. "a complete suit, a robe of honour." Bernier has *Scrappa* Travels, pp. 80, 128.

⁵Ajmir in Rajputana.

⁶Masjid or mosque.

with his Deputies, took the opportunity at His Majesty's return, to offer him Nessers of gold Rupees, which the Emperor seeing, sent Hattum Beek Chan to meet him, to receive the same.

Moreover, being come with his Imperial palanquin beside the Ambassador and his Deputies, after the usual ceremonies of salutation had been performed, he paused, until the aforementioned Ammerau had received the present for the Emperor and handed it over to His Majesty.

Soullicaar Chan, in the meantime, was engaged with the papers that were needed so that we might shortly depart, the more so, as the Emperor was on the point of breaking up camp to go to Agra with his Army, and because the unhealthy air and the bad water greatly increased the sickness amongst the Europeans.

The first Empress, Laal Coemwer,¹ had in the meanwhile become curious to see the Hollanders again, wherefore the Emperor on April 25th, had the Ambassador informed that the Empress would pass by his quarters in the afternoon and that it would please His Majesty if His Honour with all his Europeans, would appear before Her Majesty while passing, and make the same presentation as they had done to him; all of which the Ambassador informed His Majesty he would strictly carry out.

When, then, Her Majesty at four o'clock in the afternoon with a large following unexpectedly appeared, being accompanied by Donna Juliana and several of the most important Ladies of the Court, but somewhat earlier than Mr. Ketelaar had expected, she had the goodness to stop at one end of the garden, until the Lord Ambassador with all his suite had passed before her coach, and had performed their salutations becomingly.

He and his Deputies also offered the Empress Nessers of gold Rupees, which she graciously accepted and added thereto that she would cause Betels to be brought to him and his adjuncts, whereupon she gave him leave to return to his house.

The next day she did send them Betels, for which they proffered their thanks to Her Majesty. For this unusual favour they had to thank no other than Donna Juliana, a lady, whose person, on account of the services which she rendered us on divers occasions, deserves a special description.

Her Father, named Augustinho Dias da Costa, was a Merchant and (Burgess of Coetsjien² at the time that the Netherlanders conquered that City.

He then travelled from there to Goa, and so further to Bengal, in which country Donna Juliana was born.

Later on her Parents went to Agra, in which place her Father was appointed as Mancepdaar and Court-Physician to the Prince

¹The notorious dancing-girl, Lal Kunwar, the concubine of Jahandar Shah.

²Cochin, on the coast of Malabar, captured by the Dutch in the year 1661.

Sjah Aalem Bhadur; but a short time before the imprisonment of that Prince, he met with his death at Golconda, after which time the lady was appointed to be Governess of the Emperor's Seraglio.

Her assiduity and help shown to the aforesaid Prince, during the nine years of his imprisonment,¹ brought her into great honour with the same after his release and complete restoration by order of his Father, Eurangzeeb; since which time she is called Channem,² or Madam, with a monthly income of five and twenty hundred Rupees, and is provided with a great number of servants, both male and female.

Now after that Prince had ascended the throne of his Father, she was favoured with an income of four thousand Mansel and with a state equal to a regular wife of an Ammerauw, and therefore had in her train two Elephants, and red Banners with a white cross in the centre, whenever she went out.

She had command over all the Christians, whom she engaged and dismissed at her pleasure.

She was, as it were, the oracle of the Emperor, of the Princes and of all the Ammerauws, and without accepting presents from anyone, was helpful to everyone, and therefore greatly beloved by all. Yea it was even said, that when the Emperor Sjah Aalem Bhadur, fought against his brother, Azem Tarra, and had begun to flee, it was she who, seated beside him on his elephant, encouraged him again to stand, and to look the enemy in the face, with the assurance that she and all the Christians had prayed for him, and therefore he would gain the victory.

Now this having come about, the Emperor gave her the name of *Fiddezie Dnegoo Juliana*,³ that is, according to the meaning of the words, *Juliana devoted to prayer*.

She had received more titles of honour besides this from the Emperor; but on her Persian seal she bore only this: *Fiddezie Bhadur Sjah*,⁴ *Juliana*, "the devoted to Bhadur Sjah Juliana."

After the death of that Emperor she wished to leave the Court and retire to Goa; but the new Emperor, Mosoddien, and the principal Christians at the Court persuaded her to continue in her office for a little while.

She was at that time (namely Anno 1712) five and fifty years of age, and in ascendancy and influence at Court a Second Madame De Maintenon.

¹Shah 'Alam had been kept in confinement by his father Aurangzeb Alamgir for seven years from March 2nd, 1687 till April 26th, 1694. (*Ind. Ant.* xl, p. 79).

²Khanum.

³This evidently stands for *Fidzi Du'a-goi Juliana* meaning Juliana the slave of him that prays.

⁴Fidwi-i-Bahadur Shah.

The 26th April the Emperor with his chief Consort and Donna Juliana going deer hunting, passed by the lodging of the Lord Ambassador, and His Majesty himself shot a deer, for which His Honour with his suite, congratulated the Emperor on his return. First he (the Ambassador) paid his compliment to the Empress who came in advance together with Donna Juliana and some other ladies of the Court, while offering Her Majesty nesses with gold Roopees, but she graciously returned them to the Ambassador and his Deputies. An hour thereafter he repeated the same ceremony on the arrival of the Emperor himself. His Majesty accepted the nesses and made token with his hand (a singular favour) for the Ambassador to approach a little nearer. He also sent a deer to His Honour.

The same evening the Ambassador received the news that all the Hon. Company's points had been accepted by the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan (Zū-l-fiqār Khān) and would shortly be signed.

May 3rd.—About midday the Emperor with his whole Court in a very splendid procession departed from the encampment at Lahore, in order to divert himself for 8 or 10 days with hunting, at 4 cos distance from here; whither the *peeschana*¹ had already proceeded, hence to continue the march Delhi-wards. As His Majesty passed close by the lodging of the Dutch Embassy the Ambassador (who had waited for several days with the greatest impatience, every moment expecting the fulfilment of the promises given by the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan that all the Company's points that had been accepted would be signed before the departure of the Emperor, yet in spite of all efforts still sadly waited in vain) took the opportunity when the above mentioned Monarch was passing to again offer him gifts, which were accepted by His Majesty in a particularly gracious manner, from the Lord Ambassador's own hands, His Majesty signing with his hand to the Lord Ambassador that he should approach close to his palanquin, which stopped for a moment, and there taking leave of His Honour.

The same presentation of gold moors was made by the Ambassador to the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan, who followed close upon His Majesty, with the repeated earnest request that His Honour would bring the affairs of the Company to a speedy conclusion, to which the Prince, after a gracious acceptance of the presents, once more promised to do, requesting His Honour the Ambassador to send one of his Deputies to him to receive the points in question. Concerning this, it was thought, no time should be lost, so the following day the Hon. Merchant and first Deputy Rogier Beernaert and the second Deputy, Sr. Huisinkvelt, betook themselves thither next day.

May 4th.—Early in the morning, in order to press forward as

¹Pers. *pesh-khana* "fore-service." *Vide Hobson-Jobson.*

much as possible the signature of the points by the abovementioned Lord Chancellor. Towards the afternoon the Lord Ambassador learned through a note from the aforesaid Deputies that the following day they would be admitted to an audience by the abovementioned Prince, and that then according to the Emperor's own command, they would receive the agreement signed and in order.

6th ditto.—At break of day the Lord Ambassador received a further note from the Deputies, dated 5th ditto, the evening before, whereout it appeared that the same morning, having visited the Lord Chancellor, they had been very graciously received by His Highness and at his orders had been brought to his Divan Chona (Diwan-khana), or place of audience where the Nabob appeared about 1 o'clock and in the presence of divers important Ammerouws and a great number of other men, spoke to them in amiable terms, saying "I have attended to all your points and shall now sign them, God being with me," for which they had expressed their gratitude and remained awaiting the effect thereof with great eagerness. In the meantime their Honours had also obtained an opportunity of recommending the affairs of the Embassy urgently to His Highnesses second, Rajah Selhasjent,¹ and second Divan Gessingh,² which two gentlemen received them very politely and left no good promises unmade concerning the subject *in cas*, making assurance of having the Chancellor's promise to sign the agreement, to further which they would gladly do their best for the Deputies with the Agents of the Embassy. Proceeding after this to the place of audience of the abovementioned Nabob again and after waiting there till 2 o'clock in the afternoon in eager desire for the effect of all these promises, the Prince had let them know that they might go home without anxiety, as His Highness would sign the papers and send them to His Honour. The aforesaid Prince, on being again pressed, renewed his promises the same evening, with the addition that the agreement should without fail be signed the following day and sent to His Honour, with which for the present, they were obliged content themselves and again retire, hoping for the best.

7th ditto.—This day the undermerchant and second Deputy, Sr. Huysinkvelt, returned to the Ambassador to give him full verbal information concerning the princely and other promises that had been made.

8th ditto.—About 10 o'clock in the forenoon a letter was delivered to the Lord Ambassador, addressed an hour earlier to His Honour by the second Deputy, wherein he stated that, after our Agents the day before had returned empty-handed from the Lord Chancellor, His Honour the evening of date having received a message that the Nabob was about to sign our points, *de novo*

¹Sabha Chand Divan.

²Divan Jai Singh.

visited the durbār of the aforesaid Prince; but after having sat there till fully eleven o'clock at night, His Highness had at last excused himself, as having been deterred from signing by a too great press of business, but would do so tomorrow; with which reply they must yet again content themselves. In the meantime, when leaving the Durbār, the aforesaid first Deputy had spoken to Ragie Seblasjent, Diwan of the oft aforementioned Prince, in earnest but courteous terms, asking what the reason might be for this distressing postponement from one time to another, with the request to be permitted to have a report of our concerns; to which the gentleman in a most amiable manner had replied, that not only were our affairs in a highly propitious condition, but were already accompanied, as the Nabob himself had assured His Honour; encouraging him to have no misgivings whatever, undertaking moreover, at the proposal of the aforesaid Deputy, to bring the Nabob tomorrow's day to the signing of the points.

In going to the Durbār His Honour had met Prince Assuddien, to whom he felt obliged to offer a nesser of 5 gold moors, which His Highness had graciously accepted, and thereupon dispatched the aforesaid Hon. Beernaerts, further informing the aforesaid first Deputy, though not with absolute certainty, that the Emperor would break camp the following day, as the day before His Majesty's tent had been removed and put up $2\frac{1}{2}$ cos further on.

At 4 o'clock in the afternoon the Lord Ambassador received a further missive from the aforesaid Hon. Beernaerts, written in the afternoon about 2 o'clock wherein he informed His Honour that having again presented himself at the Durbār of the Lord Chancellor, His Highness passing by diverse ammerouws and rajahs come there to salute him, without even looking at them, had approached the aforesaid Hon. Beernaerts with a gracious countenance and promised that he would sign the points that day in accordance with his desire, that the requests of the Embassy were already accorded; wherefore His Honour had resolved to betake himself there again at about 4 o'clock, in the hope of a favourable conclusion. He also notified, that according to the word of divers important personages, amongst them some of the Lord Chancellor's suite, the Emperor was about to break camp on the 11th and that if he heard further news on this subject he would communicate it to His Honour differing in the meantime to the approval of the Lord Ambassador, that he would remain with the Embassy suite until the day before the Emperor's departure; which was approved by His Honour and acted on accordingly.

Just before midnight the Lord Ambassador again received a letter from the frequently mentioned Deputy, written shortly before, at 10 o'clock, in which His Honour communicated that, according to advice, he had again presented himself at 4 o'clock at the Durbār of the Lord Chancellor, and having received auspicious

promises from the lords Sebhasjent and Raigisingh as that they would secure the Nabob's signature that evening. His Honour had lived in the hope of being able to rejoice the Lord Ambassador therewith, but that this had again been prevented by unexpected obstacles, seeing that the aforesaid Prince, having despatched all the Ammerouws, and retired for the signing of the papers about 8 o'clock, was ordered by the Emperor to appear at the feast in honour of his birthday, which fell upon that day; shortly afterwards, while proceeding thither on passing by the Hon. Beernarts he addressed him with his usual kindness in the following words "Doubt not that I have arranged your affairs and that I shall sign, why do you give yourself so much trouble by coming here every-day," saying shortly afterwards to the Agents who walked beside his palanquin for a while, "Do not take the trouble of constantly coming here, I shall sign the papers," with which His Honour, being unable to do anything else, was obliged to be satisfied. And further at the end of aforesaid missive, His Honour advised the Lord Ambassador that the Emperor was about to travel 2½ cos further the following day and that aforesaid Deputy had resolved, with the approval of the Ambassador, to send the fore-tent in advance, so that His Honour with his train could await results *in loco*.

9th ditto.—In the morning at 6 o'clock an answer thereto being sent by letter, action was taken accordingly and shortly after all was ready to follow; which likewise took place; the Lord Ambassador and his train arriving just after the departure of the Emperor in the tent of the Hon. Beernards, pitched about a musket shot from that of the Emperor. Here they remained until it was judged that the greater part of the army would be passed and the fore-tent of the Embassy pitched, when His Honour also set out and about midnight reached the advance tent of the Embassy, standing not far from that of the Emperor, pitched about 4 cos from the Chacanna Serrai.¹

10th ditto.—In the morning the march of the Emperor and shortly after that of the Embassy was continued for six cos, 2 ditto beyond Serra Amanet Chan,² everything going well beyond expectation, with such order and quiet for the march of so numerous an army that we could not enough admire it. The camp of the Embassy was again close by the tent of the Emperor, amongst the most important Ammerouws, which is to be counted as a most unusual and singular favour from His Majesty.

11th ditto.—With the dawn of day the Emperor again broke camp with his army and marched 8 cos further, to 3 cos beyond the little town called Noerdicoebd,³ which the Embassy did likewise,

¹Sarai Khan Khanan, *cf.* p. 1.

²Sarai Amanat Khan, 20 miles east of Lahore Cantonments.

³Probably Nurdin, 31° 28' N., 74° 52' E., about 3 miles west of the town of Tarn Taran.

whose tent was pitched between that of the Emperor and that of Soullieaar Chan, in a place where a pleasant cool air could be felt. In the meantime the Lord Ambassador was informed that the Lord Chancellor, according to instructions, had signed some of the most important of the Company's points, promising to confirm it the following day with his seal.

12th ditto.—As soon as day began to break the march was continued in common, for 9 cos, up to the river Dehda,¹ in no less good order, and without any discomfort, as it had been on the former days; the tent of the Embassy here as before, being placed near to the Emperor's, close to the aforesaid river. The armies of Prince Assuddien, called Kogiltas Chan Baxi, already lay in camp on the further side of the river, (over which two bridges of boats were thrown). The Lord Ambassador here received the happy tidings that the Lord Chancellor, the night before, had signed all the points but one, which he promised to treat in the same way as soon as his accumulated occupations permitted him a moment for the purpose.

13th ditto.—Mokkam,² or day of rest held; but as the Ammeroww Attumbeek Chan³ offered the Lord Ambassador a vessel for the transport of the Embassy's goods, etc., some heavy carts were put across at His Honour's orders at once that day.

14th ditto.—The Emperor (although the greater part of the army had crossed the river) remained in camp, by which the Lord Ambassador also was regulated; who yet in the meanwhile had the remaining heavy carts of the Embassy which had not been taken over the day before, transported in a vessel put at his disposal by the Ammeroww Attumbeek Chan, to the end that His Honour in crossing later, might have so much the less hindrance.

15th ditto.—The Emperor passed over the aforesaid river by the bridge of boats thrown over it, and as His Majesty had given the Lord Ambassador leave to make use of it, His Honour broke camp with his train (except the Hon. Mr. Beernarts, who remained there until everything was transported and nothing left behind) in the afternoon at 3 o'clock and at about a cannon shot from our encampment, passed over the aforesaid bridge, in front of which a gate was made, through which everything must first pass, in order that the people might not crowd too thickly upon it and cause each other annoyance. The bridge in question consisted of about 38 flat-bottomed boats, each about $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms wide, which were so ranged side by side, that the water just had play between them, forming in all at a guess a length of 80 fathoms: the width of the same was about 2 fathoms, so that two carts would have been able to pass over one beside the other; the crossing of which took place without any notable difficulties, although the heat was so great and

¹Evidently the river Beas is meant.

²Ar. *maqam*.

³Khadim Beg Khan, mentioned above.

vehement that in so short a time of marching yet were many people seen lying dead upon the ground along the road.

The Lord Ambassador's tent being pitched about half a cos from the river at the usual place not far from the Emperor's tent and he having reached it, was given notice that one of the horsemen who had entered the Hon. Company's service at Agra,¹ while trying to cross the river on horseback had lost his footing through the rapidity of the stream and was drowned, but the horse was salvaged, at which His Honour, at the urgent request of the Mohammedans in the Company's service, sent several natives to search for the unsouled body, who reported on their return that amongst the multitude of drowned bodies floating down the river they had not been able to find the *corpus* they sought.

Further the Lord Ambassador was informed that one of his boats, being too heavily laden with people who had forced themselves upon it, was sunk, but everything was salvaged, whilst one ditto with passengers and army rabble amongst whom many women, was upset by an elephant, causing divers persons to be drowned.

16th ditto.—In the morning arrived Mr. Beernards with the tent and goods that had remained behind, the Lord Ambassador being notified towards evening by our Agents that his Mogul Majesty had promised to sign the few remaining separate requests and thereupon to pass them on to the Lord Chancellor Souilficaar Chan for his joint signature and further expedition; but that His Majesty had been hindered therein by the occurrence of a betrothal that very day between the Prince Bedaer Dil (being a son of Bedaer Bax (Bedar Bakht), whose father was the deceased Prince Aziem Tarra²) and a daughter of Prince Mhemeth Aziem, for which reason His Imperial Majesty.

17th ditto.—remained in his encampment by the river, although the baggage, etc. as well of the army as of the Embassy, were sent on 7 cos; there being only a single passage over a long stone bridge at the entrance to the town called Suldaenpoer,³ it required much time before such a great army could be passed over it.

Shortly after we heard that the Emperor with the whole army was about to break camp the following day and to continue the march, as was

18th ditto.—effected in the morning at break of day and the general march continued to the aforesaid town, but as the Lord Ambassador thought it would be very difficult to pass the bridge and a second ditto 8 cos further on, at the same time as the army, His Honour resolved to leave his Deputies behind (in order should

¹Agra, where the Dutch E. I. Company had a factory.

²Muhammad A'zam Shah, called A'zam Tara and 'Ali Jah, was killed in the battle of Jajan between Dholpur and Agra on June 18th, 1707.

³Sultanpur (31° 13' N., 75° 14' E.), near the junction of the Bias and the Satluj (Sutlej). It belongs now to the Sikh State of Kapurthala.

any occasion thereto arise to urge the Company's interests as much as possible at Court with the Lord Chancellor) until the Emperor should start on the march, while the Lord Ambassador with the Embassy train should go on in front. Wherefor His Honour at 9 o'clock in the evening broke camp and shortly after the whole power, being favoured in their march by the moonlight, crossed the bridge safely and formed their encampment at the further side of the last mentioned bridge.

19th ditto.—The Emperor remained with his army and the Lord Ambassador received per letter from his Deputy the news that His Imperial Majesty had signed some more of the remaining points. His Honour having witnessed the signature of the same with his own eyes. There arose in the evening a heavy thunder-storm, together with a fierce wind, thunder and heavy rain mixed with hailstones the size of a musket bullet, that lasted nearly an hour, in which storm many people were cut down by brigands and otherwise lost their lives.

21st ditto.—In the forenoon the Emperor arrived and shortly after the frequently mentioned Deputies.

In the evening there was again a violent hailstorm and thereby such a vehement storm of wind that most of the tents of the army as well as those of the Embassy were torn down, inspite of whatever precautions could be taken, the same lasting a good hour and occasioning fire in diverse parts of the army, which, however, being timely extinguished, caused no particular harm.

22nd ditto.—Before sunrise the march was again begun and continued for 8 cos up to a Serrai called Nomahel,¹ the route being taken past a village called Nicadoor.² This day the heat was not so excessive as it had been for a few days, thus the rain that had fallen had somewhat cooled the ground, as desired.

23rd ditto.—The Emperor kept mokkam, or day of rest, nevertheless the Lord Ambassador towards evening sent the foretent 12 cos in advance, as far as the river Sadalets³ and at 12 o'clock at night the greater part of the Embassy train followed, leaving the Deputies behind with the rest until the Emperor decamped, in order that if unexpectedly anything might be required with regard to the Company's affairs, someone might be at hand, thereby giving the Court no excuse for neglect of affairs. In the meantime if it should be found possible, he would, with the advance train in question pass over the river before His Majesty, which.....

24th ditto.—was reached at 10 o'clock in the morning and the advanced tent being pitched, His Honour was of intent to pass over

¹Sarai Nur Mahal, built by the Empress Nur Mahal. *Vide* A. Cunningham, *Archit. Survey Report*, vol. xiv, p. 62.

²Nakodar (31° 8' N., 75° 31' E.) town in the Ja'andhar district. *Cf.* Manucci, *Storia do Mogol*, vol. II, p. 383.

³Satluj (Sutlej).

the water in the evening after some rest with his accompanying suite. But there being only one bridge thrown over it here, the same was found so full and obstructed by troops and baggage, that to avoid accidents he was obliged to put it off for the present, all the more so, that it was pitiable to see the quantity of corpses floating down the river of people who had been crowded off the aforesaid bridge. The Elephants, Camels and many horsemen waded the river over a sand bank, on which occasion many persons being lifted from the ground by the stream and not able to save themselves by swimming, were forced to forfeit their lives miserably.

25th ditto.—At 9 o'clock in the morning the Emperor, with his Court train, passed over the aforesaid bridge, but the Elephants of His Majesty and the army with an innumerable number of camels and other bestial, passed over the sand bank, many of the troops, not being able to get over the bridge and trying to go through the aforesaid shallow part of the river, were carried away by the stream and only a few of them salvaged.

And as the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan at the Emperor's command had provided two boats for the transport of the Embassy's carts in the afternoon the military with some cargo were sent over and

26th ditto.—followed by the Ambassador, by the bridge cited, who found the tents of the Embassy standing between the small town of Lodiana¹ and aforesaid river. The whole night through thunder and it rained heavily.

27th ditto.—In the morning, the weather seeming fair and good, the Emperor betook himself to the antelope hunt, from which he returned at 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Shortly after came another violent thunderstorm, accompanied by heavy rain and hailstones, amongst which some were of the size of pigeon's eggs, which lasted till the evening and by which the river was so swollen that it was feared that our encampment (of which a part was inundated) might by continuation of the same, come entirely under water, the Lord Ambassador broke camp.

28th ditto.—With the whole train from thence, went through Lodiana, and formed his encampment a musket shot beyond, on rising ground.

The Lord Chancellor in the meantime, finding himself at liberty to sign the Company's requests, demanded them of his diwan and having signed the same, summoned the Company's Persian writer, to whom His Highness presented the same and sent them to the Lord Ambassador with friendly salutations, who with his whole company was not a little delighted thereover and immediately caused the first Deputy² who was acquainted with and practised in the

¹Ludhiana (30° 55' N., 75° 54' E.) headquarters of the district of the same name.

²Rogier Beerenaard.

Persian language, minutely to examine the same, requesting him to translate it and to take careful notice if there be no equivocal or ambiguous terms therein, which might later raise disputes and might be interpreted contrary to the true intentions of the Company. But the same was found satisfactory and conched as the deceased Prince, Mhamet Azim, had constructed it.

29th ditto. At break of day the whole army broke camp and after a march of 8 cos came to lie at a village called Draha.¹ The heat that day was very great, while there was only turbid and very bad drinking water, so scarce that men and beasts became quite enfeebled. Then through a large and populous city, lying 8 cos further and called Sirhint.² At the further side of this place a long stone bridge must be passed over, wherefore the Lord Ambassador with his train (as it was thought almost impossible for the army to make the crossing without encountering great difficulties) went on in front, leaving his Deputies with the necessary retinue behind, to follow the next day with the remainder, and at the fall of evening passed through the aforesaid town, although not without great difficulty and long delay, as the Emperor's pees-channa or advance tents, loaded upon 300 camels with many troops and baggage, passed through at the same time. At a good cannon shot from the town the encampment of the Embassy was made in a garden. The following morning or

Ultimo May.—The Emperor arrived with most of the army and shortly afterwards the abovementioned Deputies in our camp, it being a great sign of favour from the Emperor never before enjoyed by any embassy, that he permitted the tent of the Ambassador to be pitched between a tent of His Imperial Highness in which the so-called Assaer Mobareck³ or blessed beard-hair of a so-called saint is kept, and the tent of the Ammerouw Attumbeek Chan. Moreover His Imperial Majesty permitted the Lord Ambassador to bear four large train banners and to raise them in his encampment upon tall standards so as to be seen from afar, which honour was permitted to none but the greatest Ammerouws. The Emperor Jehandaersja (Jahandar Shah) with his formidable battle array having reached the town of Sirhint, as already said, and after resting there some days broke up his camp.

June 3rd.—As did the Netherlands Embassy also and continued the journey to Delhi at a quick march on account of the approaching rainy season, by the towns of Taneser, Carnael, Panipat and Soripat,⁴ which are all great and populous and yet provided only with walls and no other works of defence.

¹Doraha, village and railway-station in the State Patiala.

²Sirhind (33° 38' N., 76° 29' E.), town in the State Patiala.

³Ar. *asar mubarak* "blessed relic."

⁴Thanesar, Karnal, Panipat and Sonipat.

A number of villages and small places included in the line of march will here in behalf of desired brevity and because there is nothing remarkable to be told about them, be passed over in silence, only the principal occurrences that made a part of the march to Delhi being mentioned; of which the most important is the imminent danger in which the Emperor found himself on the 12th ditto of being very suddenly robbed of his life and crushed to pieces by a mad Elephant. His Imperial Majesty, on the above-mentioned day, having just left his tent on the march to above-mentioned city of Carnael, the aforesaid hollow-belly made straight for His Majesty and struck with his trunk or snout at the golden litter in which the monarch was contained; but the cabaers¹ surviving so far aside that his blow miscarried the Elephant wound his trunk round the Litter to break the same to pieces, but His Majesty dealt the horrible enemy a smart blow over the snout with his sabre and at the same time was hastily rescued by his convoy of Ammerouws and riders, while the infuriated beast was done to death with javelins and the carnaet² sitting upon him transfixed by His Majesty's own hand with a javelin, the overseer of the carnaets being immediately taken into arrest.

At this, the Emperor's most happy escape, the Embassy not without cause was greatly rejoiced, seeing that if His Majesty (who had already given so many substantial proofs of his favour to the Embassy and almost daily gave still further ones) had been so overcome by the imminent danger as might easily have occurred, without doubt nothing but sad consequences could have ensued for our difficult and important mission, the which, however, Heaven was graciously pleased to avert.

20th ditto.—With the army towards the town of Sjha Jehaen Abael³ (Olum Dilly) but having advanced a march, the Emperor was pleased to notify to the Lord Ambassador, that it would not be disagreeable to His Majesty if His Honour with his accompanying train of Hollanders, would accompany His Majesty at his entry into the aforesaid city. This being considered a particular mark of favour, it was accorded to the aforesaid Monarch with assurances of respectful gratitude, but

21st ditto.—later, when encamped by the village of Batly⁴ lying three cos to the north of the city and 6 cos from the castle of Delhi, the rain descended so heavily that the roads thither were rendered very muddy and almost impassible. Wherefore the Emperor had the Lord Ambassador further notified that for the above reasons His Honour and Company would be excused from accompanying His Majesty as had been agreed, only requesting that the

¹H. *kuhar*=palanquin-bearer. Cf. Hobson-Jobson i.v. *kuhar*.

²Cornac.

³Shahjahanabad, the town founded by the Emperor Shah Jahan.

⁴Badli Sarai.

military might accompany him at the aforesaid entry, the which was accorded with repeated assurances of respect. The Lord Ambassador with some Netherlands servants and soldiers, the weather being somewhat more tranquil, proceeded to the aforesaid town, leaving his Deputies with abovementioned military, consisting of sergeant Arnoldus Willems of Swol, 18 grenadiers, 2 trumpeters and 1 drummer, in the encampment near the Emperor's tent.

The aforesaid Deputies in the meantime having paid a visit to the Casie, to congratulate that so-called spiritual judge upon his elder brother Mr. Abdul Hemied Chan¹ having received the dignity of Governor of Sourat, his Mohammedan Holiness as a sign that this visit was by no means disagreeable to him, of his own accord promised speedily to write to his aforesaid brother in recommendation of the Hon. Company.

June 23rd.—In the morning the aforesaid grenadiers in full uniform and muskets, were sent by the Hon'ble Beernarts to the Emperor's tent. Having waited there scarcely an hour, the order to march was given, by the beating of the kettledrum, whereupon aforesaid military were formed in double ranks, whereby the trumpeters of the Embassy made themselves lustily heard. The Emperor, borne in a litter of massive gold, of the size and almost the shape of a coach, here issued from his tent and was greeted by the military in the native fashion, whereupon passing through the formed ranks, His Majesty signed with his own hand that they should keep just in front of His Majesty's litter, which was promptly carried out, they marching in two rows, one on the right and one on the left hand, a little in front of His Most Royal Highness and conveyed him thus up to the castle where leave was taken and late in the afternoon they arrived at the quarters of the Embassy.

The great and unprecedented confidence reposed by a Mogul Emperor in Europeans provided with loaded muskets, was regarded by everyone as something particular and caused much speculation amongst the natives as well as the Europeans who were present.

June 24th.—The Hon. Deputies also arrived at the aforesaid city and the lodging of the Embassy, where the abovementioned Hon. Beernarts received two Persian letters signed by the Emperor himself. The one announced that the Lord Ambassador and his Hon. Deputies might come at least once in the week to salute him; in the second consent was given to the Lord Ambassador to pay a visit of salutation to the ex-Lord Chancellor Asset Chan,² now Advocate-General of the Empire and Souba of the Province of Gouzouratta. This His Honour of necessity had already done, thinking the service of the Hon. Company required it, all the more so, that the Prince is the father of the present Lord Chancellor

¹Abdul Hamid Khan.

²Asad Khan.

Souilficaar Chan.

June 27th.—Some gifts presented to the aforesaid Nabob and graciously accepted by His Highness, who at the same time gave permission to the Lord Ambassador with his Deputies, if it pleased them, to come and salute him the next day, accordingly the Lord Ambassador with the aforesaid Deputies

June 28th.—leaving his lodging at 9 o'clock in the morning, betook himself towards the residence of His Highness. Arrived there he was brought without a moment's delay to the apartment where the Prince was found and very graciously received by His Highness, immediately invited to sit down. After some exchange of compliments and discourse the Lord Ambassador requested of His Highness, that the Hon. Compy might enjoy the favour of a *parwana*¹ being granted with reference to the excise officers in Amedabat,² to the end that they should strictly observe the concessions and not, as had often previously happened, molest the Compy with the levying of unreasonable duties, contrary to the Emperor's *fermaen*.³ To which the Nabob responded that a paper should immediately be drawn up as the Lord Ambassador desired and that His Highness himself would sign it and confirm it with his seal. For which the Ambassador and his Hon. Deputies, having rendered their thanks, the same were presented with robes of honour as well as with betels and politely dismissed.

Ultimo June.—The Lord Ambassador was handed over four copies of original *parwannas* as a minute, one ditto for the villages of the Hon. Compy in the Province of Bengal and the second ditto granting to in possession to the Hon. Compy from the Emperor two houses, that of the deceased Governor Attabaar Chan¹ in Souratta and Noerulla Chan in Pattana,⁴ to live in for all time without any payment for the same. Concerning which original writings His Honour sent immediately to the Casie or Spiritual Judge, with the request to have authenticated copies made, that he might be able to send them to the aforesaid places instead of the originals.

July 9th.—In the meantime His Most Royal Highness sent another Persian missive, signed by his own hand to the Lord Ambassador, wherein it was announced that his Mogul Majesty the following day, intended to appear for the first time upon the throne at Delhi and to hold a public session there where His Honour and his Deputies might come and do homage to him, and permission was given, to the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies only, to enter the castle in palanquins. The aforesaid gentlemen,

¹Pers. *parwana*, a grant or letter under royal seal, a licence or pass.

²Ahmadabad, the capital of the province of Gujarat.

³Pers. *firman*, an order, patent, or passport.

⁴Nur-ullah Khan at Patna.

therefore, with the sworn clerk Ernst Coenrad Graev, the Assistant Cornelis Ingeman, both on horseback, accompanied by the grenadiers on foot, led by Sergeant Arnoldus Willensz on horseback, proceeded thither on the appointed day at 9 o'clock in the morning. Arrived at the second gate of the castle, the Lord Ambassador left the grenadiers there and having passed the third gate the abovementioned assistants and sergeant dismounted and followed His Honour with the frequently aforesaid Deputies on foot, who were carried in their palanquins to where they could easily see the throne, where the aforesaid gentlemen left their palanquins, in order to approach near to His Imperial Majesty, who at that moment appeared upon his throne.

The Lord Ambassador and his Deputies having performed the first salutation at the usual place and offered the Emperor messers of gold mores, which His Majesty graciously accepted through the Ammerouw Attumbeek Clan, His Excellency and his Deputies were let through a silver railing by the same dignitary, close up to the throne, before which the Lord Ambassador took his accustomed place on the left hand side, aforesaid Deputies somewhat behind the same and aforesaid assistants and sergeant a little further back still, where the same united in showing their esteem by performing 3 salaams *de novo* before the Monarch.

Description of the abovementioned costly Mogul Throne preserved in the Castle of Sja Jehaen Abaed or Delhi.

The magnificence, craftsmanship and costliness that are displayed in the aforesaid throne are indescribable; but yet, in so far as the eye could observe in so short a time, we will here render a slight sketch.

Sjah Djihaan, great-grandfather of the present Emperor, built the throne and placed it in Delhi; but he himself, they say, never sat upon it it being first ascended by Aurangzeeb on the day of his coronation.

It is of massive gold, architecturally designed and has in front, as behind, three arches and at each side two, rounded above as portals; with a pointed roof, also of pure gold and ornamented at each corner with a golden peacock, whose tails are most gloriously spread and very well imitated in colour, so that they lack nothing but life.

Between these peacocks stands a golden flower-vase with various golden flowers, in the midst of which is a green leaf made of an emerald as large as a hen's egg.

The Throne is studded all about and everywhere with Diamonds, Emeralds, Rubies, Turquoises and all manner of costly stones, all of an unusual size.

Above this roof is a canopy of crimson velvet, very sumptuous richly ornamented with costly pearls, resting upon four staves about four fathoms high and fourteen or sixteen inches thick and also studded with costly stones and splendidly enamelled.

Around the throne at about three paces distance, is a massive gold railing, with bars or small columns of an "el" in height, and about twelve inches thick, being a very artificial piece of work.

After passing through this fence, four steps are ascended to the throne, before which at each corner, four golden Geridons stand. These consist of five leaves or separate elevations, which become smaller and smaller in pyramidal form and are filled with different kinds of flowers.

About six paces behind the throne was seen a gold Machine, somewhat smaller than the first, serving as a second throne, and at the same distance still further back a third very magnificent place, whose ground is of fine alabaster, but above is of nothing but pure gold.

This was not unlike a Sacristy of the Roman Catholics, and was hung in front with a zik¹ or screen, of very fine gold thread, behind which could be observed the movements of a certain personage, whom we were assured was the First Empress, who from thence, as the throne directly faced the entrance to the castle, had a view of everything.

The apartment in which this throne stood was also very splendid. In front it had the width of nine vaults or arches, from the midmost of which a view was obtained of these thrones standing one behind the other, as well as of the entrance to the castle.

High up in the hall were seen many golden balls, the thickness of a man's head, which hung from golden chains.

This throne, which indeed may be called one of the Wonders of the World both from the aspect of art and because of its expense and great value has cost nine crores (each being 100 laks), nine laks (each 1,00,000 rupees) and 9,909 Rupees (each a "daalder") and 9/16ths of a Rupee, which in Dutch money is the value of 136,000,000, 3 tonnen of gold, 64,864 guilders.

A short time after their last salutation, the Emperor caused the Ambassador and his Deputies to be presented with Bete's, which was again replied to by three Salaams.

Half an hour later His Majesty presented Souilfaar Chan, standing at his left side, with a costly string of pearls and then rose from his throne, whereupon the Ambassador also returned home with his suite.

15th ditto.—The Lord Ambassador received tidings from the Castle of Delhi that the Souba of Amedabaed, named Mhameth Beck Chan, otherwise called Jaffar Chan, lately appointed at the expense of several laks of Rupees had been deprived of his office

¹Chick (H. *chik*), "a kind of screen-blind made of finely-split bamboo, laced with twine, and often painted on the outer side." (Hobson-Jobson.)

and that in his place the wealthy Ammerouw Cerbolint Chan,¹ then present at the Court, had been appointed.

16th ditto. His Excellency, through his Deputies, sent his compliments of felicitation to the diwan of the Amerul Ammerouw Soulticnar Chan, the Reg'e Sahibachaud, on account of his advancement to be an Ammerouw of 7,500 horse at the Emperor had been pleased to create him, meaning by this compliment more to engage him for the advancement of the Company's interests with aforementioned His Highness and Majesty, in case it might come to be required in one thing or another; for which courtesy the aforesaid diwan acknowledged his thanks, assured the Ambassador with cordial greetings, of his support and presenting the aforesaid Deputies with Betels from his own hand, dismissed them in a courteous manner.

17th ditto.—By a ceta (Emperor's slave) the Ambassador was told for truth of a very dangerous occurrence in the Emperor's Mahel, which was said to have happened in the following manner. His Majesty was celebrating the feast of Bacchus with one of his consorts and invited to his Women's Court a certain Ammerouw named Naandar Chan, a great singer and a relative of the first Empress.² This man, after a short while, overpowered by the fumes of drink and being engaged in a discourse with His Majesty, broke off in an irreverent manner and changed it into a dispute, wherein his drunken obstinacy grew to so great an excess that he struck the Emperor on the breast with his full fist and called for his sword, but as none of the slaves present would or dared fetch it, His Majesty, quite unperturbed and without change of countenance, wishing to see what the fool had in his mind, commanded with a grave face that it be given to him. But he refused to accept it, whereupon His Majesty said "Wilt thou not take it? then I will." At this the aforesaid musician eclipsed himself from the sight of the Emperor, who knowing no better than that this thoughtless guest had retired without, followed the same with the naked weapon in his hand. Being come outside and finding the guard of slaves all asleep, he sought the aforesaid singer without in any way disturbing them. Some of the slaves having in the meantime awaked and coming to their Sovereign, received diverse blows with the flat of the sword as recompense, with a severe reproof for their scandalous neglect and confidence. In the meantime, the aforesaid bold visitor appearing from inside, with a naked cattery or belly-cutter and with this trying to open a way to his liberty and freedom, the

¹Sarbu'and Khan, brother-in-law of the late 'Azim-ush-shan who had presented himself with five or six thousand men, while the court was at Sarai Doraha on its way to Dillé. There, through the intervention of Nîmat Khan, a brother of Lal Kunwar and that of Khan Jahan, Kokaltash Khan, he received the governorship of Gujarat, without the *taxîr*. Zu'l-fiqar Khan, having been consulted. Cf. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, pp. 166 and 171.

²One of the brothers of Lal Kunwar. Cf. *Later Mughals*, p. 167.

Emperor ordered him to be seized; which was instantly accomplished and without doubt this coarse divirquent would have been cut to pieces, had not the first Empress, by falling upon her knees, so far been able to change the Emperor's anger to graciousness that he was only robbed of all his offices, his house thrown open to plunderers by His Majesty's orders, himself thrown into chains and condemned to perpetual imprisonment. For otherwise it is amongst the Moguls a rigid immutable law, that if anyone dare to appear before the Emperor with a naked weapon, his life is thereby forfeited.

That the greatest benefits are often repaid by the most scandalous ingratitude is shown clearly by the case related, by which the Emperor's life was not a little endangered, notwithstanding that His Majesty, from the pure and sole consideration that he was a relative of the first Empress Lakeemwer¹ (who from dancing girl had achieved to being the principal Empress through the irresistible passion of His Majesty) had raised him from the dust to be an Ammerouw, after that he had renounced his Ragia (poet) faith and embraced that of Mohamed.

18th ditto.—It was communicated to the Lord Ambassador that the Emperor, after his arrival at Delhi, had ordered the children of Prince Azem Tarre to be brought before him and those of his son Prince Bedaer Bax (Bedar Bakhsh), (who had been kept in prison since the death of their father) and that their conduct had so greatly pleased him that His Majesty had adopted the son of Azem Tarra and the first Empress Lael Koenwer the son of Bedaer Bax, had granted them their freedom and given them licence to appear at the derbar beside the Princes, His Majesty's sons. To which effect had been given. The day before yesterday, returning to their place, on their cushions and soucenys² being examined before being laid before the throne, in that of the eldest son of Azem Tarra a large knife was found, which being carried to the Emperor he ordered the Princes cited to be brought before him. This being done the Emperor asked them to what end they had hidden the knife and brought it there, to which the eldest replied that it was not customary for Princes to go unarmed, whereupon His Majesty, without making any reply to this, ordered them to be imprisoned as before.

19th ditto.—It was said that Jehandaar Sja had granted permission to his son Assuddien,³ at His Highness's request, to take the considerable sum of 9 crore Rupees out of His Majesty's treasury at Agara, Itawa, etc., in order to raise a formidable army and therewith, after the rainy season, to proceed against Prince Farochsjeer in Bengal. It was moreover said that the (Governor) of Dekken

¹Lal Kunwar.

²Soucenys.

³A'zz-ud-din.

had been sent for and was already *en route* with a considerable number of Rupees and that Ammerouw Danout Chan, who was renowned as a brave soldier, should lead the army, but under the aforesaid Royal Highness as generalissimus.

21st ditto. The present Attorney General of the Empire and viceroy of the province of Gonsoratta, Asset Chan, was honoured by a personal visit from the Emperor, in return for which His Excellency presented him with 3 lakhs of Rupees whereof the grey haired and faithful minister had caused a Tsjabontra to be formed, which after His Majesty had sat thereon and returned home again was taken away by His Majesty's servants and stored up.

22nd ditto.—The Lord Ambassador received the unpleasant news, by Bengalese despatches that the Hon. Jacob van Hoorn, Chief Merchant at Patna, was deceased and that at the death of the same his estate, as well as the goods of the Hon. Company, had been confiscated by the there residing Prince Farochsjeer¹ (Farukhsiyar). Whether this is the truth all revealing time must discover.

25th ditto.—The Ambassador was told for a certainty, that the first Empress (of whom mention has already frequently been made) had begged the Emperor for the Souba²ship of Agara for one of her relatives (who, as already told had from a mean quality been advanced to be an Ammerouw) the which His Majesty had accorded to her and as witness thereof had given a letter to the aforesaid Ammerouw, with orders to show it to the Lord Chancellor, Souilfi-caar Chan. Deeming himself fortunate and having given his most humble thanks to His Majesty, he thereupon went straight to the house of the aforesaid Lord Chancellor, was very politely received by His Highness and after showing aforesaid note was made happy by the Souba²ship in question, with the request that as the Lord Chancellor was in need of 300 tamboeros (being small drums on which singers constantly beat while singing)² and was convinced that no one could better help him therein than he, that he would be pleased to supply them, the sooner the better. To which the other replied (not noticing the sarcasm in these words) by a promise promptly to deliver them within a few days. Accordingly, on arriving home, he wished to send out his people at once to procure them; but one of his capaters,³ understanding the simplicity of his master, asked what he was going to do with so many of these instruments, guessing the meaning of the Ammerouw and advised him not to do it, explaining to him how to understand there ironical terms; whereupon, this would be Souba, humiliated and almost bursting with rage at the insult, again betook himself to the Emperor, making complaint to him of his mishap. The Emperor, having understood,

¹Muhammad Farrukhsiyar, the second son of 'Azim-ush-Shan, born on the 11th September 1683.

²Cf. W. Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 167 f.

³The term 'capater,' which occurs frequently, means "a eunuch."

and calling to mind that there were so many Ammerouws of merit without office or income at Court, besides that the aforesaid Soubaeship already granted to the brother of the Mierbari Cokeltaes Chan, or Chan Jehaen Badur,¹ His Majesty responded that he would speak to the Lord Chancellor concerning the matter. With which answer this suppliant, this courtier transformed out of a singer into an Ammerouw, was obliged to be contented. The Lord Chancellor, being come before His Majesty and being asked why he had mocked the Ammerouw in such a satirical manner, it is said that he submitted that if His Majesty was pleased to elect singers to be Soubaes of Agara, etc., the Ammerouws would have to become singers.

28th ditto.—On receiving tidings that the naya souba or newly appointed Deputy Governor (sub-regent) at Gousourat of Asset Chan, the wealthy Ammerouw Sirbolint Chan² referred to above, was about to depart to the aforesaid government within a few days, the Ambassador sent his Deputies thither today, to congratulate His Excellency upon the aforesaid vice-soubaeship, to request his friendship and aid for the Hon. Company and to wish His Excellency a safe journey. The aforesaid gentlemen having arrived at the dwelling of the aforesaid Ammerouw, were very politely received and assured of his assistance. After being presented with the usual present of betels, they were dismissed in a most friendly manner and returned home.

Prime August.—This morning the head of the Hon. Company's cassetts³ here received news in writing from his agents in Pattena (Patna), that now the Hon. Company's residents there were treated with a good deal of more civility by Prince Farooksjeer than shortly after the death of the Hon. Jacob van Hoorn, that the despatches sent thither by the Lord Ambassador and his Deputies had been delivered and would be answered, moreover that the director and Council of Hougly had taken several jagierdars, or income-tax collectors of the aforesaid Prince into custody, and by a missive had requested His Highness not to molest the Hon. Company's administrators in the town (Patna), but to give them liberty either to remain *in loco* or else to retire from there with their goods and effects. If this was not granted they would be forced to exercise reprisals upon His Highness's servants. Thus it is hoped shortly to hear by writing from the aforesaid residents what the true condition of affairs may be.

August 3rd.—It was communicated to the Lord Ambassador by some reliable persons that the Emperor Jehandaer Sja had yesterday received various letters designed for the infantry officers of

¹Mir Bakhshi, Kokaltash Khan, Khan Jahan, the foster-brother of the Emperor.

²Naib Su^{ba} Sarbuland Khan.

³Arabic *qasid* "a courier, a running messenger;" Anglo-Indian *co ssid* (*vide* Hobson-Jobson, i.v.).

the usurping Prince Farochsjeer, which had been intercepted by Prince Asuddien and sent hither to His Majesty. From these a conspiracy was discovered whereby 7 captains of the gunners¹ in the artillery in His Majesty's service, besides diverse other captains with their lieutenants and men (to the number of 20,000) were willing to transfer themselves to His Highness's service, requesting that, if he was pleased to approve their design, he would have the goodness to advance a few marches towards them with his army, either under the leadership of his own person or that of a trust-worthy Ammerouw, to the end that they might join together; with the assurance that, while awaiting his answer, they would be diligent to win other captains to their design. The Emperor having become aware of the conspiracy instantly apprehended the authors of the same and took them prisoner, but what procedure will be adopted with regard to them, or whether they will discover their accomplices and an exemplary carnage will stop the evil-doers in their bad design, or if it must run its course, all-revealing time must show.*

August 6th.—Reports were divulged at Court that the degraded Naib Souba of Gousouratta, Mhameth Beek Chan, not without great prospect of success (according to the private opinion of many of the most important courtiers), solicited for the government of Suratta; which numerous and sudden changes of chief regents, even if they fall out the most favourably, cannot but be prejudicial to trade.

August 8th.—His Mogul Majesty had an elephant fight arranged on a suitable open space between the Castle and the river, whereby one of the carnaes lost his life, for the aforesaid animals attacking one another with terrible fury, one of these hollow-bellies tore the unfortunate rider from the neck of his adversary with his trunk, and so tossed him into the air that he fell dead to earth.

August 9th.—His Imperial Majesty on the departure of the newly elected Souba of Agra, Jeffer Chan,² (being the brother of the Baxi General Kokeltaes Chan) presented him with a robe of honour, besides a gold dragons head (called in the Moorish language *mayhi maan tap*³) an ornament which none but Ammerouws of the highest dignity may wear in state.

August 10th.—The death of chief merchant of Pattena, Van Hoorn, was again confirmed by Bengalese despatches, with the fur-

¹The original has 'roerschutters' which really means 'musqueteers.'

*In any case, as long as these sons of Mars, who are all clamouring because of the ill-payment of their arrears, get no better acquitted thereof than heretofore, the same can be but little relied upon.

²Muhammad Mah, Zafar Khan, became A'zam with the governorship of Agra. (Irvine, *Later Mughals*, p. 160.)

³*Mahi maratib* (Pers.) or "Fish standard." Cf. *Ain-i-Akbari* (transl. Blochmann, p. 50, foot-note).

ther particulars that Prince Farochsjeer had had the Company's confiscated goods a costly valued at $1\frac{1}{2}$ lakk and fetched from the warehouse by his people with the promise to repay the same when he should have become king, but that the Hon. Company's sub-resident had declared with reference to the above-mentioned valuation the same to amount to a sum of 5 lakhs Rupees; furthermore, that to the aforesaid servants of the Company free exit and entrance was permitted, and not more than 5 or 6 peons of the Prince were placed before the Hon. Company's lodging to keep watch on the Hollanders. But notwithstanding the vigilant watch that was kept all around the Company from thence sent its papers to the Embassy, both for Batavia, Hougly and elsewhere, in a secret manner, which had reached their addresses without the Prince's servants being able to discover it. Which relieved the Lord Ambassador from his cares and anxieties on their account, with the hope that the advices may have been sent to Batavia and reached their honours in good time.

August 11th.—In the morning one of our Agents came by order and in the name of the Lord Chancellor, and informed the Embassy that His Excellency with his assistants must appear at Court today, to receive the robes of honour which the Emperor had granted to His Excellency when for the first time sitting in this castle upon the most costly throne of his forefathers he had been saluted by His Excellency. At which communication His Excellency and train betook themselves thither. On entering the castle and being informed that the Emperor had not yet appeared upon the throne, the same were obliged to await the arrival of the Monarch in one of the galleries which were beside the ordinary throne of marble upon which His Majesty was to sit, upon an *alcatyr*¹ laid down for the Lord Ambassador and his train by the *Sjolders* of His Majesty who half an hour later appeared on his throne, when the usual compliments were paid by His Excellency and train to His Mogul Majesty; whereupon, each in his usual rank and place, diverse *Ammerouws* were raised to *Mansebs* and granted robes of honour. His Excellency was presented with a gold *cerpauw*² with appurtenances and His Excellency's assistants each had a silver robe thrown over his European habit, for which thanks having been given according to the custom of the country, His Mogul Majesty shortly afterwards withdrew, and the Lord Ambassador with his company retired to their lodging.

August 13th.—After deliberating if it were not necessary to communicate to the Lord Chancellor the news mentioned here on the 10th of the month, of the violent procedure of Prince Farochsjeer in order to remove any suspicion by this powerful Minister as well as by the Emperor, which they might easily conceive, that in the aforesaid computation the usurper had been willingly supported

¹*Alcatif* "a carpet," from Arabic *gatif*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, *i.e.* *alcatif*.

²*Vide* p. 32, footnote 6.

with money and goods, the Ambassador approved today that by the Persian scribe Bendrabendas,¹ a Persian letter should be sent to our agents with orders to deliver it to the aforesaid Nabob, by the contents of which what had happened and been done at Pattena (Patna) was notified to His Highness; the aforesaid Persian writer having acquitted himself of his commission and duty, this afternoon the abovementioned agents appeared before the Lord Ambassador and reported having handed over aforesaid letter to the Raja Seblhas-jent, and that the same had accepted it and promised further to insinuate it to the Lord Chancellor; and moreover communicated that the Fermans which the oft mentioned Nabob, with the purpose of revising for the last time, had kept so long by him, had been signed by His Highness without any alteration and delivered to his diwan, with orders to have them entered by the secretary. This gave His Excellency hope that the affairs would now shortly reach the desired conclusion and he would be able to address himself to his return journey with great satisfaction and honour, which long wished for news having been heard by the Lord Ambassador with real joy, His Excellency recommended their honours in earnest but civil terms, to press forward the entering of the Fermans in question with all their power, which they respectfully promised to do.

August 14th.—The above mentioned Persian writer, having been in the Diewan of the Lord Chancellor to ascertain if the letter of notification cited had been delivered to his master, communicated on his return that this had been done, and that it had been agreeable to the Nabob that the Lord Ambassador had been good enough to inform him of what had occurred in Pattena, likewise that His Highness had expressed his regret at the losses that the Hon. Company had suffered thereby, and made assurance that if the times changed for the better, the Hon. Company would receive its guarantees.

August 15th.—The fore-tents of the Emperor were taken in the direction of Agara and there pitched. It is said that he intends to march against Prince Farochsjeer in person with his army, which is not given much credit by statesmen, and regarded only as a stratagem. The Lord Ambassador, in the meanwhile, having seen only too plainly and with sorrow, how lax and slowly everything happens at this Court, and that there would undoubtedly be delay before he could secure his dismissal although all the business was settled, His Excellency thought it advisable to beg the Lord Chancellor to solicit His Majesty without delay, to press the completing of the Fermans. Wherefore His Excellency caused his requests to the Lord Chancellor to be delivered today by our agents, and received the answer that His Highness would present the same to the Emperor on the first occasion possible, and procure an honourable dismissal from His Majesty for the Lord Ambassador, as indeed on

¹Bindraban Dass.

August 16th.—The Prince informed the Lord Ambassador that he had acquainted the Emperor with His Excellency's request, and that His Majesty had acceded to it, that His Excellency would obtain a gracious and honourable dismissal, so that, now, although with uncertainty the much and greatly wished for day may be awaited.

August 17th.—It was told to the Lord Ambassador as certain that in the army of Prince Adsuddien, camping outside Agara, from His Highness's Mahel, gold and jewels had been stolen to the value of 3 lakhs rupees in money; and that the aforesaid Prince as soon as this was told him, had ordered the couterwaa¹ of the aforesaid town to be brought before him. This being done, His Highness commanded the Magistrate to pay this sum, as it was his nonchalance that had caused the robbery. The couterwaal replied hereto that his authority was for the town and he could not be held responsible for what was stolen in His Highness's camp, but that the couterwaal of the lakar² had to guard against this and, must make good the robberies committed. Yet such pleas of innocence could not prevent the officer being held in custody for some days, from which, however, the intercession of his friends released him without any injury.

August 18th.—News came in that Prince Adsuddien, having at the Emperor's orders, crossed the river Imna³ near Agra with his army, His Majesty had settled to go towards Agra also with his army, by moonlight. For this purpose most of the Amerouws had already had their foretents taken out of the town and pitched there.

August 19th.—The rumour that had been current here for several days, that the ex-Souba of Gousouratta, Amanet Chan, or Sja Amanet Chan, had become viceroy of the district of Malva (of which the city of Ojeen⁴ is the capital) was confirmed today, with the addition that in order to obtain the charge the Prince Sadul'a Chan Matekil (Sa'dullah Khan Mu'taqad) or Mesaret Chan had given the Amirul Amerouw Souilficar Chan 3 lakhs of rupees for him.

The 20th ditto.—The Hon. Company's Heathen agents came to show the Lord Ambassador 5 pieces of fair copy original Fermans, with the assurance that the 6th referring to Amedabad would follow in a few days, and that we now might hope to be ready in 10 or 12 days.

Further His Excellency was informed by the agents that the Amerouw Matemet Chan and former Cham Chana of the unfortunate Prince Jehaen Sja had been appointed Fausdaer (Faujdar)

¹*Kotwal* or superintendent of police. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *cotwal*, *cutwaal*.

²Pers. *lashkar* "an army, an army camp."

³Jamna.

⁴Ujjain.

of Godra,¹ and that if the Lord Ambassador should take the road by Jaboa² (which would be the most secure), he would be passing by his Fousdary (Faujdarī), whither it would be a great pleasure to him if he might enjoy the honour of His Excellency's company, and that in that case His Honour would be pleased to wait 10 or 12 days longer, either in Delhi or Agara for the Lord Ambassador, in case His Excellency should not have finished his affairs at this Court at the time of his departure. At the same time the Amerouw requested through the aforesaid agents, that His Excellency would be pleased to lend transport to his son in one of the Hon. Company's vessels to Persia where he was about to conclude a marriage; which the Lord Ambassador in reply promised to the Fousdaer, always supposing that in the harbour of Souratta a ship for Persia should arrive.

The 24th ditto.—Information was received that Sirbulint Chan (Sarbuland Khān) having recently departed for the Soubā of Amedabad and having already passed Agara (Agra), had been appointed Governor of Sourat instead of Gosia Abdul Hemit Chan (Khawaja Abdul Hamid Khan), whereas the actual Souba of Amedabad, Whameth Beek Chan, having been degraded, was again appointed in his place.³ It was also confirmed that Sja Amanet Chan (*alias* Amanet Chan) was elected to be Souba of the Province of Malwa, whereof mention has been made before.

The 25th ditto.—Bengalese Cassets report unanimously that in Pattena and the surrounding country but few troops were seen, and that the feeling there was that as soon as Jehaendaar Sja appeared with the army, Farochsjeer would be abandoned by most of his people.

The 30th ditto.—Was delivered to the Lord Ambassador by the agents for the embassy five pieces of original and perfected fermaens with the assurance that the 6th concerning Amedabat according to the promise of Ragia Sighadsjent, would follow in a few days, at which His Excellency, greatly rejoicing, promised to aforesaid Hackiels (wakiels?)⁴ robes of honour, not having them in readiness at the moment.

The Lord Ambassador was informed that by the orders of the Emperor, there were being prepared for presents at the farewell audience the following for His Excellency the Governor-General of India as well as the Lord Ambassador and his assistants.

¹Godhra (22° 48' N., 73° 40' E.) in Panch Mahal district of Gujrat.

²Jhalua (22° 45' N., 74° 38' E.) capital of native State of same name in Central India.

³Cf. above pp. 55 and 60.

⁴Wakil=an agent.

⁵The Governor-General at the time was Abraham van Riebeck.

FOR HIS EXCELLENCY ABOVEMENTIONED.

1. Epistle from His present Majesty to His Excellency in answer to that sent to His Majesty's father the departed Emperor.

1. Jewel, being a breast piece.

50 tolas of otto of roses, which it is said the Mogul Emperors otherwise never sent to any but crowned heads.

40 Ps.* bodidaers (?)¹ *pieces.

10 „ shawls.

20 „ stuffs, and

10 „ niemaetiens.²

FOR THE LORD AMBASSADOR.

1 horse.

1 robe of honour.

1 calgi³ or plume.

1 candjer.⁴

FOR THEIR HONOURS.

Each a robe of honour and a candjer or Hindoostani dagger.

September 2nd.—News was brought that Prince Adsuddien had demanded subsidies from the Banyan merchants in Agara, but receiving a negative answer thereto, under the pretext of being unable and not provided with money for doing so, His Highness not daring, for fear of the Emperor, to use force, had made a second attempt and desired that in the case of said merchants not having so much ready money, they should meet his demands in copper yet that this had been fruitless as the aforesaid heathens persisted in their former answer.

September 3rd.—The Lord Ambassador sent the Persian writer Bendrabendas to the Hon. Company's agents with the commission most earnestly to recommend to them that they present the signing of the Amedabat fermaen to the diwan of the Lord High Chancellor, which he upon his return, in the name of the agents, notified to His Honour, that yesterday evening the diwan had fulfilled his promise of giving the writing in question to be expedited today, the success of which, however, he doubted, as the Emperor with his whole Court and followers including the aforesaid Diwan, were on the point of going out to the grave of a certain Mohamedan so-called

¹The term *bodidaer* possibly is Persian *butidar* "floral, flowery."

²Persian *nim-astin*, an upper robe with half sleeves often made of gold or silver tissue.

³Culgee. A jewelled plume surmounting the *sirpesh* or aigrette upon the turban. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *culgee*.

⁴*Vide* above p. 12.

saint, lying 8 cos from here, named Codobodien,¹ where, as was said, His Imperial Majesty would reside for 8 or 10 days that, notwithstanding, his agents would betake themselves to the house of the frequently mentioned minister in order, if possible, to obtain the aforesaid fermaen; accordingly towards the evening they came to communicate to the Lord Ambassador that they had employed their utmost endeavour, but had not been able to get possession of the said fermaen, while the aforesaid Diwan had put off the delivery till his return to the city of Delhi.

September 5th.—The malice and wickedness of the French surgeon, Martyn, who was in the service of the wretched Prince Jehaensja, and who after the latter's death was without reputation and used, it is said, to move about in the army like a scoundrel,² went so far that he was not content with involving the Lord Ambassador in great difficulties with the deceased Emperor regarding a considerable sum of rupees which he falsely gave out to have been handed over to the Hon. Company by the deceased physician Polyliet. This he claimed to be his by inheritance, on the strength of having married one of the slaves left behind by Polyliet who pretended to have been his legal wife and instituted lawful heir to all his estate. But through the caution of the Lord Ambassador, together with the help of powerful courtiers and the excellent Donna Juliana, finding himself entirely frustrated in his unfounded pretensions and evil, his passion went so far that, hearing that some difficulty was being made about the Gousourats fermaen, he had recourse to a capater³ who had been in the service of aforesaid Prince Jehaensja, and was now in the service of the Imperial General of Artillery Souciaet Chan (previously called Resae Coelie Chan)⁴ who had the ear of His Lord and Majesty, to whom this Martyn had managed to dish up such a story about some of the requests contained in the said fermaen, especially the bestowal of the house of the deceased governor Attembaer Chan⁵ in Souratta on the Hon. Company, that the aforesaid general had promised to speak to the Emperor and Lord Chancellor about it, to prevent one thing and another. But this plot being discovered by our heathen agents before it was ripe and coming to the knowledge of Donna Juliana, that excellent lady contrived, of her own accord and without even having been requested to do so, so to demonstrate the futility of the action by pointing out that, if there had been any grain of truth in Martyn's story, the Emperor and his Chancellor would not have signed the many points of the request which had passed

¹The shrine of Qutb-ud-din at Mihrauli, 11 miles to the south of Shah-jahanabad, cf. Bernier, *Travels*, p. 283.

²The passage is not clear.

³A eunuch, cf. above p. 59.

⁴Raza Qul Khan, Shuja'at Khan, Daroghah of the Topkhanah.

⁵Itibar Khan.

through revision without any argument, that aforesaid Ammerouw convinced of the contrary was obliged to entirely desist from his underaking.

September 7th.—His Imperial Majesty and his whole Court returned from their pilgrimage, to the town and castle of Dilly.

September 11th.—The 50 tolas double attar of roses valued at 50 rupees the tola, mentioned on ultimo of the newly past month of August, projected as a present to His Excellency the Lord Governor at Batavia, were given into the hands of His Excellency in two boxes closed with the Emperor's seal, with the promise that the further presents specified on the abovementioned date would arrive within a few days, together with an honourable leave and licence to return home.

And seeing that the orders of the deceased Emperor for the restitution of the monies seized by the Soula of Asmer (Ajmir), Sousiaet Chan, or rather his general Teweralchan, owing to the death of His Majesty had so far not achieved the desired effect, the Lord Ambassador today made known the coercion anew to the present Emperor per arsy¹ as had been done in the days of Badursje (Bahadur Shah), with the request that His Majesty would be pleased to issue his imperative commands for the re-embursement of the monies. The which having been read by his Mogul Majesty, the same gave orders to his Lord Chancellor to see to it that the monies were restored to the Lord Ambassador the which was communicated to the Lord Ambassador by the Hon. Company's agents. Time must show what the effect of the same will be, as accordingly.

September 12th.—The Lord Ambassador was further informed that the Lord Chancellor in accordance with the Emperor's orders given yesterday had instructed his Diwan without fail to collect the monies carried away in Asmeer (Ajmir) from the Hollanders. Said Diwan had immediately nominated a gosberdaer² sent him to aforesaid Soula to constrain him, or rather his general, to the aforesaid restitution.

September 17th.—The agents came at 9 o'clock in the evening to communicate to the Lord Ambassador, that the fermaen regarding Amedabat had been delivered to them by Ragia Sebasjent to be copied out, assuring His Excellency that he would receive it in 2 or 3 days.

September 19th.—At 3 o'clock in the afternoon His Excellency received through his agents the breast-piece consisting of diamonds and other precious stones inlaid in gold and with a gold chain to it and a candjer, also garnished with gold and small rubies, a present from the Moghul Monarch to His Excellency the Lord

¹Petition.

²Gurz-bardar (Pers.) or mace-bearers. Cf. Bernier's *Travels* (transl. V. A. Smith) pp. 263, 267 and 280.

Governor-General, with the announcement that His Excellency and assistants would receive within a few days the robes of honour and an honourable dismissal.

September 21st.—Raysammerlingh, one of the Hon. Company's agents at the Court here, came this morning to communicate to the Lord Ambassador that the *fermaan* regarding Amedabat was ready copied and he made no doubt that the same sealed in complete perfection would be put into the hands of His Excellency very shortly. Likewise that the villany of the French surgeon Martyn (of which there has been frequent mention made in this record) concerning the Amedabat *fermaan*, etc. was so much resented by the Lord Chancellor that his *mancell*¹ or fee was reduced to the half and the agent assured us that it would not stop there, but that it was possible he would loose the rest in recompense for his evil intrigues, by which he had thought to influence the doings of the wise and powerful Minister of State.

In the evening the Lord Ambassador was given the very agreeable news by the oft mentioned agent, that the Emperor at repeated instigation to this end, had ordered His Excellency to be apprised this evening that His Majesty would be pleased to take leave of him to-morrow, and that for this purpose His Excellency must appear at the *dirbar*. This His Excellency engaged to do with great pleasure and at the same time earnestly enjoined the agent aforesaid *de novo* to take care that the Amedabad *fermaan* should be brought to His Excellency in *debita forma* before his departure from the court, the which was promised in respectful terms.

September 22nd.—In accordance with what was noted yesterday the Lord Ambassador together with his assistants and further suite betook themselves in the morning to the Court of His Mogul Majesty, in order to present the same with the necessary compliments of farewell. Arrived there and being come within the red railings, and finding His Majesty upon his ordinary throne of marble, His Excellency with his whole European suite first went to the place where it was usual to pay respects to the Emperor. After paying these respects, the robes of honour were brought by servants of the *deroga*² of the robes of honour to the place where His Excellency and his assistants were to receive the *cerpauws*.³ While the Ambassador was there, the Emperor inspected the Elephants and horses, which as is customary when His Majesty shows himself to the people, were brought before the same. Whereupon His Excellency having been clothed by the *darroga* with a golden and his assistants with silver robes of honour and being brought back to the first mentioned place, these expressed their gratitude

¹Mansab.

²*Darogha* "a superintendent, a manager." Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *daroga*.

³*Vide* above p. 32.

for the great honour done to them, by making three cornusses. And seeing that the horse, destined by His Mogul Majesty as a present to the Lord Ambassador was not yet saddled and at hand, and it was feared that the Emperor was just about to retire, the which would compel the Lord Ambassador to seek a fresh occasion to give thanks for the honour with a special visit to the Court to pay his compliments of thanks in the court manner, to avoid this it was thought best to make use of one of the horses present. Accordingly, when the two assistants of the Ambassador had retreated a little to the side, and the Lord Ambassador stood above before His Majesty, one of these was led before His Excellency and the reins of the same were laid by His Majesty's Master of the Stables over His Excellency's right arm and the ends given into the left hand; His Excellency gave thanks for it with 4 salaams. Shortly after this the Emperor arising and passing within, His Excellency and assistants were fetched by the darroga of the Emperor's jewels and by orders of His Majesty conducted to the inner Court where in the name of the Monarch the Lord Ambassador was presented with a calgie (being an ornament of various small stones and birds feathers set in gold such as none but Princes and Amerouws are permitted to wear) and a candjer also set with small stones, while His Excellency's adjutants were each honoured with a ditto candjer or dagger, for which the suitable salutation of thanks having been given, His Excellency quitted the Court and reverted with accompanying train about midday to his lodging.

September 23rd.—The Lord Ambassador having, as told yesterday, been in an honourable manner dismissed by the Emperor, there now remained nothing more than to take a suitable leave of the powerful Princes at the Court. So the oft mentioned agents came early this morning to inform His Excellency that the Amerul Amerauw Soulficaer Chan would be pleased to receive His Excellency and assistants. Accordingly at about 10 o'clock His Excellency betook him to the dwelling of His Highness. Arrived there he found His Highness still at table, who being informed of His Excellency's arrival requested him to have the goodness to go into his garden *ad interim* and to disport himself there a little until his meal was at an end. This being done by the Lord Ambassador, in the meantime the Amirul Amerauw was suddenly and unexpectedly called by His Imperial Majesty. His Highness let His Excellency know of it, repeating his request that he would await his return, to which it was politely agreed. The aforesaid Prince, who on passant repeated his request to His Excellency by word of mouth having been absent about an hour, sent a Sobdaer¹ to inform the Lord Ambassador that on account of important occupations it would be late before he would be able to obtain his dis-

¹*Chobdar* (Pers.) or 'stick-bearer.' The *chobdars* carry a staff overlaid with silver.

missal from the Emperor, and on that account could not well speak to His Excellency today, and wished that this might be postponed till to-morrow. To such a powerful Prince and friend of the Hon. Company this could not well be refused, wherefore His Excellency gave an assenting answer to His Highness and reverted to his house.

September 24th.—In the morning His Excellency and the agents went to the aforesaid Amiral Amerauw and Lord Chancellor to know if His Excellency could take his leave of the Prince today. Returning with the message that the Prince would make his afternoon free to receive His Excellency in his house, the Ambassador accompanied by his suite betook himself thither at 3 o'clock. Arrived at the place His Excellency was met by capater¹ who sat expressly at the door to request him in the name of lord and master once more to sit for a time in the garden where the Ambassador had been yesterday, informing him that aforesaid Prince had again been called to the Emperor, and before going out had instructed him to beg the Dutch Ambassador, if he came, that he would not be offended at again being invited to wait in the garden until His Highness came home, as he had been again unexpectedly called away by His Imperial Majesty. This was politely accepted by His Excellency who waited there till about the hour of half past seven in the evening with great longing for His Royal Highness, at which hour the Nabob once more sent his polite excuses and said that it distressed him that the Lord Ambassador had been kept fruitlessly waiting for the days, and seeing that it would not be possible to leave the Emperor till late in the night he would not detain His Excellency longer, but if God willed he hoped to receive His Excellency tomorrow and to take leave of him. Whereon His Excellency returned sadly about 9 o'clock, which could have been wished otherwise, because, in order to give this powerful minister no reason for offense or displeasures, it was impossible to leave without having taken ceremonious leave of him, and his noble father. Neither could precedence be given to Princes of lower rank in this respect, seeing that His Princely Highness at all times and especially in these important affairs had given notable proofs of his sincerity and goodwill towards the Hon. Company.

In the meantime the Lord Ambassador before going out this morning had caused an *arsdast*² again to be placed in the hands of the Prince in question, in which he in polite but earnest terms begged that orders might be given that the money forced from us before Sjapoer (?) might be restituted by the Asmeer Sonba, and likewise that the Amedabad fermaen might speedily be sealed and sent to the Lord Ambassador; the Prince in reply assured His Excellency that he would do his uttermost for both the one

¹A eunuch. Cf. above p. 59.

²Petition, Persian *'arz-dasht*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *arz*.

and the other.

In the meantime His Excellency in order to show that he really intended to depart when he had received his dismissal from His Imperial Majesty, this morning had the tents carried to Serra Barrapoel¹ and pitched there.

September 25th.—The Lord Ambassador, as already mentioned, having now fruitlessly spent two days following in waiting in the Lord Chancellor's house in order to take his leave, betook himself with his assistants, having previously ascertained that the Emperor was gone hunting and that the aforesaid Chancellor had expressly stayed at home to receive the Lord Ambassador at his house, towards the spot. Having arrived at the dwelling of the Prince, their honours were again invited to step into the garden where they had been before, where after sitting for a little while, they were clothed in robes of honour and then introduced before the said Nabob; having been thanked for this honour with 4 salaams, His Highness with his own hand presented the Lord Ambassador with a calgi of beautiful stones set in gold, which having been bound upon his honours heart, was thanked for with 4 more salaams. This being done the Prince invited the Lord Ambassador and his adjutants to be seated, which being done close to His Highness, the first deputy handed to him a Persian Arsdast or letter of notification in which the oft mentioned Prince in brief terms was thanked for all the favour and help shown to us was besought to let us obtain, before our return if possible, or otherwise before our departure, the remaining papers, to which the wise State Minister very graciously replied in the following words: "I will have you assisted at once," and immediately gave orders to his Diwan to effectuate the same. Shortly afterwards His Princely Highness was thanked by the Lord Ambassador in the Hindoostani tongue for his conspicuous favour and help shown in the conduct of the Hon. Company's affairs, with the assurance that the Hon. Company would keep it in lively memory, requesting at the same time that it would please His Highness to continue in the same gracious benevolence towards the Hon. Company, who responded with a friendly countenance. "Put your heart at ease, I shall do all in my power." A little after His Highness was also addressed by the first deputy in Persian, principally requesting him that, as the Hon. Company had in His Majesty's widely extended realm much trouble and difficulty in negotiation, His Highness would now and then exert his powerful favour and protection and that it might be his pleasure to permit Their Honours from time to time to write to him, to which the Prince made the friendly reply "Do so freely, I shall bear the Hon. Company in mind." For which, also for the promise given to His Excellency of letting him know

¹The Bara Pul or bridge of twelve arches, is situated 5 miles to the south of Delhi on the road to Mathura (Muthra).

to accept a visit from the Lord Ambassador today, His Excellency accompanied by his deputies betook themselves to the dwelling of the Prince in question. But on arriving there they understood the Nabob had shortly before joined the Emperor, so His Excellency's suite returned disappointed. But at 5 o'clock in the afternoon the Lord Ambassador was *de novo* informed by the agents at the express orders of the Prince that His Highness, sitting in the place of public audience, had said that the Lord Ambassador, if His Excellency wished it, might appear there. His Excellency accompanied by aforesaid deputies again betook himself thither. Arrived at the dwelling of the Prince, they were instantly brought before His Highness, who after the ordinary greetings had been passed and the nesses accepted, requested the Lord Ambassador to sit down close to him. This being done, His Excellency thanked the Prince for the favour and help received from him, with the request that he would continue the same, and still extend his protection to the Hon. Company's affairs and servants. At the same time His Excellency handed to the Prince the passport¹ necessary for our return journey in a few days by Agara, etc., the which was accepted by His Royal Highness and returned to His Excellency after these words "If Your Excellency needs my favours, and has any request to make to the Emperor, write to me, when you may be assured of my goodwill (laying his right hand upon his breast).'" For this gracious promise His Excellency thanked with great politeness, and having spent some time in amiable discourse, His Excellency begged leave to depart, which the Prince granted with these words "God be your guide," and the information that the Lord Ambassador and his suite would each be presented with a robe of honour (which would be brought to the house). For this Their Honours having expressed their thanks by making the usual salaams, departed to their lodging where they duly received the aforesaid robes of honour.

September 2nd.—Donna Juliana informed the Ambassador by the servant of one of our agents that the Empress called Lael-komwer or Intaesmahel² had ordered her ladyship to inform the Dutch Ambassador that within a few days His Excellency and his whole company might come to greet Her Majesty in the castle and take leave, and that the exact time at which this should take place would be communicated to His Excellency later; for which agreeable announcement, the Lord Ambassador thanked her ladyship politely, assuring her that he would regard it as a great honour to obey the commands of such an illustrious Empress.

September 3rd.—In the afternoon Their Honours went to Prince

¹The original has 'distect,' in other places 'bestek,' which is rendered by Dutch 'vrij-geleide' (safe-conduct). It must be the Persian *dustak* 'a passport.' Cf. Hobson Jobson iv dustuk.

²Intiyaz Mahal (Charm of the Pa'ace).

Sadulla Chan Matekid,¹ Chamberlain and Receiver General of the Emperor's domains, and also to the general of the Imperial artillery Emperor's domains, and also to the general of the Imperial Artillery Resa Coelic Chan (Raza Quli Khan). By these gentlemen His Excellency was very politely received and after expressing his thanks for the friendship enjoyed, he was assured of the continuation of the same, and by the last named lord presented with a robe of honour, with many polite expressions including the wish that he might enjoy a safe and prosperous journey, whereupon His Excellency took leave.

September 5th.—The 80 pieces of robes of honour for the Governor-General specified on ultimo August, were delivered to the Lord Ambassador.

September 6th.—The Lord Ambassador and his suite visited the dwelling of the Lord Chancellor's Diwan den Ragia Sebasjent (Sabha Chand) to thank that gentleman for his favour and friendship. Being received by aforesaid nobleman, and sitting down, the Lord Ambassador offered the compliments applicable to the case, whereupon the aforesaid nobleman asked if anything was still wanting, in regard to the Lord Ambassador's requests, to which His Honour replied that nothing was missing except the passport² of the Gosbaerdaer (gurz-bardar), which was, ordered for the delivery of the house of Attebaer Chan by His Majesty, requesting that, as the ragia had always graciously extended a helpful hand to us and had fulfilled our requests in complete perfection, his goodness would also extend to having this delivered to His Excellency the sooner the better, so that within 3 or 4 days we should be able to depart without leaving behind one thing or another. This the nobleman promised with great certainty to have effected within two days, and delivered to His Excellency for which promise the Lord Ambassador politely thanked him, and after sitting a little longer, begged to take leave, to which the nobleman consented with many amiable expressions, begging that the Lord Ambassador would not forget him, but sometimes do him the honour of sending a letter, while he would regard the Hon. Company's affairs as his own, and on all occasions that his offices might be required would prove himself a friend. The Lord Ambassador having expressed his thanks, His Excellency next betook himself with his suite to the Amerouw Attembeek Chan, by which gentleman His Excellency was no less politely received, and after some amiable discourse, including the wish for a prosperous journey, they took leave and returned to their lodging in the evening.

September 7th.—Last evening at 9 o'clock the Lord Ambassador was informed by the agents, that, by the Empress's express orders His Excellency with his whole train should greet her this morning.

¹Sa'dullah Khan Mu'taqad, Comptroller of Household (*i.e.* Khansaman).

²The original has 'bestek' (read: 'destek'). Cf. p. 85, footnote 1.

His Excellency therefore ordered all the Europeans, both civil and military, to be in readiness, and accordingly at about 10 o'clock this morning he was further informed by aforesaid agents that His Excellency with his deputies paymaster¹ and secretary should appear at Court. Hereupon His Excellency with the persons named, betook himself immediately to the castle, where he was informed that, as the Empress had a view over the river, it was her pleasure that Their Honours should go to that side, behind the castle. This being done, and having waited a while under the shadow of some trees, the Lord Ambassador received in the name of Her Majesty a gold and Their Honours his adjutants silver, robes of honour, as also the paymaster,¹ the secretary Bodidaerse² These having been donned. Their Honours were brought to a suitable distance from the place where Her Majesty sat behind the castle, where having remained about 1 hour, Their Honours, were brought to within about 40 paces of the window where Her Majesty was enjoying the view and there ranged in a row. Having payed their respect by advancing one step, then several steps and making four salaams, after standing there for about 50 seconds, they were notified by a sign from above, that Her Majesty permitted the Lord Ambassador to take his departure, which, after making one more salaam, took place.

September 9th.—At 10 o'clock in the morning, we departed in state from our lodging for Barapoel (Eura Pula),³ whither the baggage waggons had been very early dispatched. En passant the Lord Ambassador and his whole suite visited the house of Madame Juliana, to thank her for the unremitting zeal and friendship shown to the Hon. Company in this embassy. Having reached the abode of the said lady, Their Honour were received with great politeness and after exchanging reciprocal compliments, invited to sit down before a curtain, behind which her ladyship with some other ladies was seated. After the expression of their thanks the aforesaid dona answered in obliging terms, and regaled the Lord Ambassador and further friends with beetels, after which expressions leave was taken and the journey towards Barapoel was resumed. The Lord Ambassador was escorted by his deputies through Sja Jehaenabad as far as old Dilly, where that gentleman returned to the lodging they had left, to expedite the acquisition of the fermaen for His Excellency the Lord Governor General, which had not been ready before our departure. At 2 o'clock in the afternoon the Serra of Barapoel was reached, in company with diverse important Christians and merchants, who after a short stay and amiable reception, returned again to the city.

October 12th.—Towards evening the aforesaid deputies arrived

¹ Guastoshouder in the original.

²Cf. p. 67.

³Bara Pula near the Dargah of Nizam-ud-din.

and in giving an account of their doings, informed the Lord Ambassador amongst others that the Persian (clerk) Bendrabandas with our agents would follow to-morrow with the remaining papers.

In the evening about 9 o'clock we heard a great outcry and diverse cannon shots from the army that was encamped opposite the Serra. This was caused by gangs of robbers, who had deprived some of the riders of their horses.

October 13th.—In the afternoon, in accordance with yesterday's assurance, the Imperial favour for His Excellency at Batavia and the deslek for our return journey were brought by the frequently mentioned Persian writer and three agents, and delivered to the Lord Ambassador. Thereupon His Excellency presented the last named, in the name of the Hon. Company each with a robe of honour and a horse in acknowledgment of their services during this embassy, after which towards evening they took a respectful leave and departed, having been *de novo* enjoined by the Lord Ambassador in serious terms to push the Company's affairs with vigilance and activity, especially concerning the money forced from it at Sjapoer.

October 14th.—Everything having been made ready for the journey during the night, at sunrise we left the Serra and came without any notable event after a march of 7 cos to the spot Farietabaat¹ and entered a serra for the approaching night, from which

October 15th.—at break of day and properly accompanied by cavalry we set out. We had been warned that the road we were to travel today to the spot called Serra Horel (Sarai Hoda!) was very unsafe owing to the roving thieves, so the Lord Ambassador caused the train to march in 3 columns, as close as possible together, dividing both the cavalry and infantry in the rearguard under his Hon. Bernards and in the vanguard under Huysinghvelt. In this order having passed half the day and rested under some trees, we received tidings that a few hours before some carts had been robbed quite near our resting place, which news made us keep even more on our guard and close together, but we arrived in the afternoon without any evil encounters at the spot Palwel,² situated 13 cos from Farietabaat, and lodged in a Serra there till next day.

October 16th.—At sunrise, in the aforesaid order and under suitable convoy the journey was resumed in company with the Baxie and Wakkawanees³ from Aetjeen⁴ Mortusa Coelie Chan⁵ and

¹Faridabad, 7 miles to the south of Delhi in the road to Mathura.

²Palwal, 38 miles to the south of Delhi.

³The passage in the manuscript is corrupt. Cf. *infra*, p. 93.

⁴*Wakkawanees*, Anglo-Indian *Vakea-navis*, a news-writer, a public intelligence " from Persian *waqiah-navis*. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *zucca*, *vakea-navis*.

⁵Ujjain in Malwa.

⁶Murtaza Quli Khan.

the boutaert (.) of Boera-poer¹ Kidjerichan² who having ridden till midday on horseback with His Excellency then took to their palanquins as the sun shone with terrific heat. Four cos from Palwel we passed through the village of Bamerekea, 1½ cos further the village of Mitroal, being a notorious nest of robbers and 2 cos beyond this having passed Kattakera, the convoy that had accompanied us from Palwel took leave, as their territory ended here, that of Horel began. A cos from the village in question, in the open field on our left hand various horsemen appeared now and then, from behind the hills and bushes, in accordance with the maxims of the robbers in these lands, coming on the flank to awaken fear in the travellers and cause them to take to flight. But some fifteen of our horsemen, recognising them as such voleurs, together with the treasurer and secretary who were also on horseback, charging at them in full gallop, the aforesaid vagabonds retired quietly towards the bushes and big hills behind which (as we were told 1½ hours later by a peasant) more than eighty horsemen and at least fifty musqueteers were hidden, intending, by sending out a few of their accomplices to entice thither those who pursued them. In the meantime, some of the boldest holding their ground, and coming to blows, three of them with their horses were taken prisoner, the remainder salving themselves by flight behind the hill cited allowing the aforesaid enthusiasts to amuse themselves with the aforesaid booty, while the prisoners in question, with hands bound upon their backs, were brought back to the Lord Ambassador, who commanded that they should so far be carried with us to our following mamsjel of Horel.³ ½ cos further the convoy from the latter place came to meet us, with whom, after passing a large village called Banzary, by marching 12 cos we arrived at Horel at 3 o'clock in the afternoon without any further such encounters, and took up our quarters in a serra. When we had been about ½ an hour in aforesaid serra, an Amerouw came to prostrate himself before the Lord Ambassador, begging His Excellency to put to death the scoundrels that we had entrapped and brought here prisoner, because they were the same who, now two days ago, had murdered his only son on that road and stolen his horse, the which could be recognised amongst the three horses captured from the scoundrels and brought here. But His Excellency sent them and their horses and weapons with one of our gosbaerdaers (gurzbardars) to the faus-daer (faujdar) of aforesaid Horel, with orders to acquaint him with what had happened, recommending that the fellows should be kept safe where they could not escape, and that the foudaar would send a letter in which he acknowledged having these prisoners in his power,

¹Burhanpur in Central India.

²Khizr (?) Khan.

³Manzil or stage of Hodal.

as His Excellency was about to communicate the same to the Court. Accordingly aforesaid gosberdaar delivered the required billet to the Lord Ambassador on his return, and assured him in the name of the officer in question that the rascals should be treated according to his wish and orders. Having passed the further night in tranquility we proceeded.

October 17th.—Next morning, as soon as the serra was opened, upon our journey in the former order, although as has been said, we were no longer in danger from robbers. After passing diverse villages and meeting with no discomforts in the way, a march of 9 cos brought us to the serra of the village of Tesjatta.¹ Shortly after our arrival there we were told that ill news of us had been circulated there, that we had been struck down by the Mewatties (being the name of aforesaid robbers) and our cafila² despoiled, and further that yesterday, between Horal and Palwel an escort which had met us had been struck by the same miserable fate. Towards evening the Lord Ambassador had diverse letters written in Persian, to the Lord Chancellor his Diwan and other important Princes in which our encounter with the robbers between Palwel and Horel was notified as related above, with which was enclosed the letter from the faudaar of the latter place to His Excellency with the hope that His Mogul Majesty and Their Highnesses would not be offended by his action, the which missive the following day was

October 18th.—Despatched at 10 o'clock in the morning with his own seal attached. This done we proceeded on our journey. About 1 cos beyond a town called Matura His Excellency was met in the road by the son and the cousin of the broker Birsidas, who said they were come from Agara and bid him welcome with presentation of nessesers, which, however, His Excellency did not accept but returned to them with a friendly countenance. We arrived at 2 o'clock in the afternoon at the serra Gosia Attebaerchan,³ after marching 13 cos.

In the evening some of our people came with the news that some bamams (banians?) coming from Agara and going to Mattura had been despoiled by some horsemen not even half a cos from this serra; also the tidings concerning the robbed Cafilas of yesterday were confirmed.

October 19th.—At 4 o'clock in the morning the serra was left, and the journey continued for 8 or 11 cos past the town of Orangalaat (also called Caepnegger)⁴ and various villages and serras, as far as a spacious and clean serra called Gougat,⁵ which we

¹Chata, 20 miles north of Mathura.

²A caravan. From Arabic *qafilā*, a body of convoy of travellers." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, i.v. *cafila*.

³Sarai Khwaja Itibar Khan.

⁴Aurangabad. (?)

⁵Gaughat.

reached safely at 1 o'clock in the afternoon.

October 20th.—At 5 o'clock in the morning we again took to road, passing $\frac{1}{2}$ cos from Gougact a serra called Honckte, $1\frac{1}{2}$ further the village serra of Rosbehaen and 1 cos further the village of Secondra¹ where the Lord Ambassador took breakfast in a celebrated garden belonging to Assen Chan (Asad Khan) and where we remained till 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Here the Agara fermaen was delivered to accountant Sr. Dirk Huysenveit by the Imperial addy² Nouroes All'e Beek, sitting on an alcatyv, as well as that for all ragadoms (?) in the territory of the Mogul, to the Resident from the Court of the honoured monarch and delegated chieftain, with the following ceremonies. The aforesaid Gosberdaen seated upon an alcatyv, just inside the gate on a large square platform of stone masonry, held in his two hands the aforesaid fermaens in authentic copy bound up in golden bags. The Lord Ambassador with the first Deputy Oogier Bernards having the aforesaid accredited chieftain between them and clothed in the robes of honour that they had received at the farewell audience from His Mogul Majesty, came from behind out of the garden and lead the same before aforesaid Gorsberdaer, who thereupon rose up from the place where he sat and having turned with his back towards Dilly, aforesaid chief made four cornusses, three steps nearer again four cornusses and having advanced once more three steps, the aforesaid writings were delivered to him and bound upon his head, whereupon he entered his palanquin and preceeded us upon the road to the Hon. Company's lodging. The Lord Ambassador and his suite followed shortly, who being arrived at 5 o'clock was congratulated upon his safe arrival there and in the evening treated to a magnificent feast by the aforesaid chieftain.

October 24th.—The Ambassador obtained tidings by a letter from the Court that, according to His Excellency's request the occurrence with the robbers on the road between Dilly and this town of Agara had been notified to the Emperor, and that both by His Majesty and the Lord Chancellor the conduct persued by His Excellency in the affair was very well received and highly commended, while on the other hand His Majesty's Highness was so displeased with the Fausdaer of Horel for not keeping the safety in his district better, that no doubt was felt as to the deportment of that officer.

October 28th.—Letters from Dilly received by the Lord Am-

¹Sikandrah.

²Anglo-Indian *haddy*; i.e. *ahadi* (from the Arabic *ahad*=one), "a warranted officer a gentleman trooper, a horseman not attached to any chief, but under the direct command of the king." Cf. *Hobson-Jobson*, i.v. *haddy*. The personal name of the *ahadi* in question appears to be Nauroz 'Ali Beg.

bassador today, announced that the Gorsberdaer who was expressly ordered by His Imperial Majesty to go with us to Souratta to constrain the governor of that town to deliver the house of Attebaer, Chan to us, would arrive here from the Court within 2 or 3 days.

Primo November.—The Lord Ambassador received a visit from the baxi and wakavees of Oejeen (Ujjain), Mortusa Coiffé Chan, together with bantart of Baenampoer (Burlampur ?) Kidjeri Chan¹ who had travelled with His Excellency from Dilly as notified above. These gentlemen being politely received by His Excellency and invited to sit down, the former communicated to His Excellency that amongst other things he had heard by letters from Dilly that the Lord Chancellor had made the Emperor acquainted with the rencontre with the robbers between Horel and Pa'wel, and that the Ambassador's conduct in the matter had been applauded by His Imperial Majesty.

November 4th.—The Gosberdaer (*gurzbardar*) expected from the Court arrived at the Company's lodging bringing with him such papers as were necessary for the accomplishment of his commission.

November 5th.—By orders of the Lord Ambassador the advance tents were taken to the serra gosia lying about 4 cos to the south of this town, where His Excellency intended to follow within a few days with the whole train of the embassy, except the friends who were to remain in Agara, and, with God's blessing from there to pursue the journey towards Sourat.

November 6th.—The Lord Ambassador received visits from diverse notables of this town, who after being politely received by His Excellency unanimously wished him a prosperous journey and returned to their homes.

November 7th.—His Excellency was congratulated by the *couterwacl* and *carora couterwacl*, named Chan Miersa Allie Sjeer,² on his happy return hither, with renewed assurance of his friendship and favour, which the Lord Ambassador answered in polite terms and begged him to continue in his goodwill and affection, both as regards His Excellency although he was leaving this place, and also the permanent head in loco and further friends, which was promised with great cordiality. After some further friendly discourse and presentation of beetels His Excellency took leave and departed.

November 8th.—Diverse notables of the town visited the Lord Ambassador, who after wishing His Excellency a happy and prosperous journey, returned to their homes.

November 9th.—The Ambassador commissioned the merchant and first deputy Rogier Berrards, with the under-merchant and elected resident at the Mogul Court, likewise chief of the office at Agara Sr. Direk Huysinkvelt with his assistant Cornelius Ingemaan.

¹Cf. supra p. 89.

²Khan Mirza 'Ali Sher.

to acquaint Isaak Chan, the Emperor's Diwan in this town, and to read to him the newly acquired *fermaen* for the factory at Agara, and that concerning the *ragadoms* (? *radaries*¹) throughout the whole Empire granted to the Hon. Company by the present Emperor in the first year of his reign, and to beg his friendship and help for the chief merchant in this residency in case they might need them in the service of the Hon. Company. When this nobleman saw that His Honour Bernards was about to unroll the document to show it to him, he replied "do not do so, for I know very well the rights that the Hon. Company have long enjoyed and what they have now gained, as I came here from the Court not long ago; therefore Your Honours need have no doubts and may assure the Lord Ambassador that His Majesty's mighty commands shall be executed with all obedience," saying further "as regards the amity requested for the chief of Agara (Agra), Your Honours can assure the Lord Ambassador that I shall treat them with great consideration for the sake of the Hollanders, if he should be in need of such." For which amiable expressions and promises Mr. Bernards thanked him, and after parting of the usual banquet of beetels His Honour and further friends took leave, and proceeded from there to the house of the *boutaet*² or Imperial 'boedelmeester' to pay the customary compliments and salutations. This gentleman not only received Their Honours with great politeness, but assured them of his assistance and friendship if such should be required in the service of the Hon. Company, with the request that they would assure the Lord Ambassador of the same with cordial greetings. Having thanked His Honour and taken a suitable leave of him, the commissioners returned.

And as the departure from Agara towards Sourat was fixed for the 11th ditto, the carts were loaded today.

November 10th.—At 9 o'clock in the morning the Ambassador with his deputies went to take leave of the *Mancebaer* (*mansabdar*) of the castle of Agara, called Mier Mhameth, being an old friend of the Lord Ambassador, who received Their Honours with great amiability and expressed his pleasure at the success of His Excellency's expedition in the interests of the Hon. Company at Court, together with his safe return in loco and regaled Their Honours with the usual refreshment of beetels. After some more friendly conversation Their Honours took leave, whereupon aforesaid gentleman very politely wished them a prosperous journey, after which Their Honours returned to the Hon. Company's lodging.

November 11th.—Everything necessary for our journey being ready and the freight and baggage carts being sent on early in the morning, the Lord Ambassador and suite left the Company's house

¹Persian *rahdari*, i.e. rights or customs levied by the State along the caravan route.

²Persian *butat* 'account of household expense.

on the way to the Serra Glosa already mentioned, accompanied by the Agra notables, some Jesuit fathers and various important Armenian and other merchants. With this company His Excellency arrived in aforesaid serra about 6 o'clock in the evening, and was amiably received by his friends, who after staying a while and wishing him a prosperous journey took leave and went to the town.

November 12th. Having despatched advices to Souratta, Amadabat and Bratia¹ by returning cassets (messengers) and taken a friendly leave of the Agra notables who had accompanied us thus far, we took the road at sunrise to prosecute our journey towards Souratta. Having done $\frac{1}{2}$ cos, we came to a large and by no means undelected garden, founded by an important capater² of the Emperor Sja Jaen (Shah Jahan) named Dera, which His Excellency and Company took the pleasure of viewing, and staying until the rearguard under command of His Honour Bernards arrived there. Leaving this His Excellency travelled one and a half cos to the Serra Malaekstjeen which he passed and 2 cos from there again reached another garden where we stayed a while, in which was to be seen the grave of a formerly renowned Amerauw of the aforesaid Emperor Sja Jhaen called Heyat Chan, and beside it the grave of a lion and a hunting dog of aforesaid Amerauw, whose images hewn in stone represented them there. After a short pause there His Excellency again set out on his journey passed after travelling 2 cos the village and adjoining serra Ossera, likewise a musket shot from there a river with the same name, having an unfinished bridge which lie on the right hand. Three cos further **we** passed the serra Seya, and after **two more cos, and march of** 11 cos took up our nights lodging in the serra Diaetjou,³ beside which Badjur Sja (Bahadur Shah) overcome his brother Azemtarra (A'zam Tara) in a bloody and obstinate battle, killed him, and thus secured himself on the Mogul throne. The night there spent in tranquility.

November 13th.—This place was left an hour before day, 3 cos from there the serra Mania⁴ was passed and 5 cos further a village called Sanda, destroyed because of robbers and rebellion against the Emperor, and after riding 2 cos more reached the spot Fettiabaat (Fatehabad) where we took up our nights lodging. This place had formerly various handsome houses and other buildings, but these are mostly fallen to pieces. It is celebrated for the victory hereabouts of Oranzeep (Aurangzeb) against his brother Dara,

¹Suratte, Ahmadabad and Brach.

²*Vide* above p. 59.

³Gajan; the battle took place on 18th June, 1707.

⁴Mania (25° 50' N., 77° 59' E.), a village in Dholpur State.

which is also indicated by the name of Fattiaibaat.¹ The situation of this place is not unpleasant on account of the many shady trees which stand around it.

November 14th.—Before sunrise we began our journey again, the vanguard being under command of His Hon. Bernards, who went in front on that account. Two cos from Fettiabaat we came to a large village called Dhaulpoer (Dholpur) and 2 cos further through the village of Hindri lying on a steep hill on the river Djemmel (Chambal) which separates the district of Agara from that of Gouleur (Gwalior). Before coming to the aforesaid river we had to pass a steep mountain and very deep defile of about $\frac{1}{4}$ cos. Everything was transported by means of flat-bottomed vessels, which however for want of sufficient workmen, proceeded rather slowly, notwithstanding that His Excellency seated on a height in aforesaid village from the Agara side, could see that the work was pressed on with all possible industry, while on the further side His Hon. Bernards took all necessary care for the debarkation of the carts, etc. The greatest part of the train being successfully carried over, His Excellency and accompanying friends were alike transported and after greeting His Hon. Bernards and recommending the remainder to the vigilance of His Honour made his way to a round plane lying $\frac{1}{2}$ cos in between the mountains, where His Excellency and accompanying friends stopped and took breakfast and waited until everything had been brought across aforesaid river. Proceeding from thence we had to pass for at least 1 cos between mountains and dangerous robbers dens before we again reached even ground. After we had gone a few more cos, after a march of 5 cos, at one o'clock in the afternoon we came to a halt at the serra Tsjo'la lying 3 cos from aforesaid river, in which the night was passed in peace.

November 15th.—At break of day the journey was begun, with the intention and hope of continuing it to the village of Noerabaat² and the serra Mattaemet Chan, the beginning of which seemed favourable enough; a good road of 1 cos led to the village of Pats-jokra and subsequently 1 cos more to a village called Quarry which were happily reached without accident or molestation. But the advance guard trying to pass the defiles that lead past aforesaid village were held up by the revolted peasantry, who, armed with good musquets and other guns had posted themselves everywhere behind the hills and in the caves along the way, asserting that they would on no account let them pass before they had given some money, to which the Lord Ambassador (seeing that all around was

¹ The name of the place which was formerly called Samonguer (*i.e.* Samugarh) is now Fatehabad, that is to say the *Place of Victory*." Francois Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire* (Constable: V. A. Smith), p. 47.

²Nurabad (26° 25' N. 78° 4' E.), town in Gwalior State.

broken country and therefore the situation so bad that it was impossible to find any other way out of the labyrinth) ordered the Imperial gorsberdaer and ditto adsy to abouch as civilly as possible with the peasants for a small *douceur*, which at first appeared to be likely of success, but as the European military and some natives advanced to protect the advanced carts, a fierce attack both from the village and out of the hollow ways was made upon them with muskets and arrows, by which at the first instance a native musketeer was killed by a musket shot, the corporal of the grenadiers Frank, hit in the thigh by a ball, the assistant Calde shot through his hat, and the assistant Gotingh hit on the breast by a spent ball, which however caused no harm but a slight swelling. Also in this encounter one riders horse was shot dead and one ditto hurt in the leg, one of the Hon. Company's horses on which the steward Blauw sat received a ball in its head, which entered above the left eye and came out under the right eye, from which the same spun round several times, but did not fall to the ground. At the same time the Lord Ambassador and other friends being under a hailstorm of bullets, to avoid further misfortunes ordered an instant retreat of both men and carts from the plain where they were exposed to the fire of these rascals to behind the hills where we had some advantage, to await what should be the effect of the envoys that His Excellency had sent to discuss an accommodation, seeing that the position was so bad that it was impossible to do anything by force against such rascals without exposing ourselves to many evil consequences; the more so as all the surrounding villages were with them in their riotous plots; so the European military with their leader and ensign Neythard were drawn off in good order without any further misfortune. Nevertheless a few shots were fired on our side also, during the slight retreat, upon those who followed and seemed as if they would plunder the *caffila* by which they were diverted from their evil aim and kept back. Having spent a considerable time in this anxious state of affairs, some of the chiefs of the aforesaid peasants came to the Lord Ambassador, asserting that the first shots had been fired at them from our side and diverse people killed and others wounded, although such was false and invented to be an excuse for raising their first reasonable pretensions to a pretty large sum which they accordingly did, and to which, if we were continue our journey without further notable misfortunes, we were obliged to compel with a fairly large sum of rupees. Hereupon the march was continued and 1 cos further we came to a village called Brauly¹ on the left hand side of a bridge. Here we again found the peasants behind the walls² of their houses in full arms, not permitting anything to pass without paying them

¹Paravali, *Gwalior State Gazetteer*, vol. 1, p. 279.

²In the original 'meurengessen.' What is the meaning of 'gessen,' can it be 'loop-holes?'

passage money, for which we were obliged to promise them some money when we should come into the mansel, as it was considered not at all wise to let them see where the money was kept, wherefore they retained the servant of His Hon. Bernards, called Pier Mhameth, with four of the Compy's camels laden with tent goods and 1 baggage wagon, as hostages until the money promised them should be paid. After this the march was continued for 3 cos to a serra, river and village, all three called Menthly, which two places are separated aforesaid river but lie a musket shot from one another. We became aware of the danger in which we were there, for the Lord Ambassador in his palanquin accompanied by the secretary Bruynink and a Jesuit priest Johannes d' Abrea, hastening forward to prevent harm to the best of his ability, as soon as H. E. appeared from out a deep defile, was greeted by such a storm of shot and arrows, that it was a miracle and due to no one but God, that H. E. and accompanying friends escaped so fortunately by retreating the way they had come, while in the encounter the chief of the torch-bearers, named Densje Bora, who was drinking water at the aforesaid river with four more native peons who were about H. E. were shot dead, the head of aforesaid peons dangerously wounded through both his thighs and his foundation by a bullet. An Armenian merchant called Jacob Jan and another passenger despoiled of everything they had with them in their cart, as well as paterns (?) of the Lord Ambassador after the cahaer¹ had been wounded in the thigh by an arrow, robbed at the side of the H. E. while the Lord Ambassador having retreated a little, H. E. and followers went under a tree surrounded by a small earthen wall and right opposite aforesaid serra to await there what answer would be brought by the gorsberdaers we had sent, who at last after we had anxiously awaited them for a long time, appeared before H. E. with three headmen of the villages in question (all three being brothers) and told him of the accommodation they had made, not without great difficulty, for a goodly sum of rupees which must be given to them at once, on the condition that they should accompany us with a sufficient escort to Ncerabaat lying 2 cos from us, to which H. E. wished to travel without delay; but seeing that the day was nearly spent through this unfortunate rencontre, the Tannedaer² of the last named village strongly recommended the Lord Ambassador to be pleased to overnight in the serra close by, not only because we must still pass diverse villages in which at evening he could not guarantee no mishaps, but also because the Tannedaer would be glad to see that the two paters with all that was in them, should be restored to H. E. promising to guard us so well, all night by a sufficient watch of his own people that not the least harm or loss should be incurred by us, while tomorrow

¹Palanquin-bearer. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *kular*.

²Hindi *thanadar* "the chief of a police station." Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *tanaadars*.

morning we should be conveyed to the desired place with a sufficient escort. To this we were obliged to consent, while by order of H. E. a rampart of wagons was formed in aforesaid serra, which was in no wise defensive but open on all sides and our people so placed at the approaches, that in case of an attack we should be able to defend it to the uttermost and avoid surprise. But God was our protector, that no further evil should befall except that some of our natives who went too far outside the serra lost their lives, nevertheless we spent the night in continual anxiety, as the rascals were not greatly to be trusted.

As the night began to leave us the Tamedaar came to advise H. E. that he had directed his uttermost efforts to the restitution of the paters taken, but had not been able to procure the same, at the same time he was now ready, according to his promise of yesterday, to have us conveyed by 200 horsemen to Noerabaat, requesting that if the peasants were to fire now and then we should take no notice of it, but go on quietly, he himself not trusting the rascals over much. What embarrassment and uneasiness these circumstances, added to our sharp encounters yesterday caused us, can be easily imagined, against which, however, we could do nothing but patiently and warily arm ourselves, and hazard the venture for good or evil. Hereupon, then, leaving our mansjell¹ and taking again to the road, we pas-ed over the aforementioned river and the oft-cited village of Menthly, extended in a half moon on our left hand, beside which our escort was stationed on an elevation. Notwithstanding this, now and then a few musket shots and arrows were sent at our train en passant by the thieving knaves, by which one of our horsemen beside His Hon. E. Beernards in the rear-guard, was hurt in the leg. After $\frac{1}{2}$ cos riding, all the time through hollow ways, we regained at length the open field not without relief, and after 2 cos more we came to a large and well constructed bridge, having four turrets at each side, and between them diverse pleasant seas, which we crossed and entered the adjacent serra Metthemet Chan,² in which we spent the night more at our ease than the night before. In the meantime our Gorsberdaers were sent out to announce the arrival of the Lord Ambassador in the villages along our line of march, while showing the Imperial mandate, to the end that they might resort to no excesses out of fear of our train and pretended ignorance, but on the contrary should escort us in safety from one place to the other on the strength of the royal commands. Of which having been assured by a letter directed to H. E. by the aforesaid Gorsberdaer we proceeded

The 17th ditto.—early in the morning on our way, which led us through open country, where both on our right and on our left hand lay mountains and many villages. After riding 3 cos we passed

¹Manzil=a stage.

²Sarai Motamid Khan (?). Cf. Gaz. I, p. 237.

a large stone serra called Patter, 2 cos further the serra Ianan and after advancing 2 cos more we occupied the serra Candhaura, lying upon an eminence just opposite to the town of Gouleer (Gwalior), where everything being built of stone we found it clean and in good order. The Lord Ambassador sent our Gorsberdaer to acquaint the governor of our arrival, and likewise to protest against the violence done by the peasants in his d'strict and demand reparation, at the same time requesting to be conveyed through the remainder of this province into the next. To this the governor replied by expressing his regret, with the promise to restore what had been stolen, and immediately to write about it as well as the desired escort, to the souba (being an Ammerouw of 5,000 horsemen called Mier Chan¹), as the same with all his troops had personally taken the field against the peasantry in revolt 15 cos from here, and the governor had not sufficient power at hand to be able to escort us in safety to the next province. For this reason we found ourselves necessitated

The 18th ditto.—to hold a Mokkam or day of rest, when H. E. received the greetings of the diwan of the souba (being a government money-changer and creditor of H. E.).

The 19th ditto.—Were obliged to remain for the reasons alleged, when the Lord Ambassador again received a visit from the diwan.

Towards the evening H. E. received a letter from the aforementioned Mier Chan,¹ in which H. E. expressed his regrets for the recontres in his country, promised to send a convoy, and assured H. E. with many polite expressions of his friendship.

The aforementioned town of Gouleer (Gwalior) is fully 7 cos in circumference, has a castle on a very high rock and by nature very strong, which occupies $3\frac{1}{2}$ cos in circumference and contains 17 water-tanks and many ditto wells and furnishes so many aliments that in case of a siege the garrison can be maintained upon them. Herein three splendid Royal Mahels or women's houses were found, to wit of Jangier, Sja Jaen² and of a ragia. Along the rock upon which the castle lies are seen many temples of heathen idols, whose stone images hewn in the cliff, can be seen to this day. On the east side of the town is a small river almost dried up called Sounisser, by the side of which many pleasant gardens are found. In this town there are also many skilful workers in iron, which metal is found in great plenty in the mountain here and therefore can be procured for a civil price.

The 20th ditto.—Very early in the morning we left the Serra Candhawia and passed through the town amidst a great throng of people. Shortly after, we crossed the abovementioned small river, $\frac{1}{4}$ cos from there we left a village called Mohel on the left hand. After this our road lay continually through mountains and valleys,

¹Mir Khan.

²Jahangir and Shah Jahan.

3 cos from Mohel we again crossed a small river, called Moeraer¹ and the adjacent village Cotha, in which a serra lies called Kabister, which the Emperor Sja Jaen (Shah Jahan) had built for the ease and safety of travellers; mounting continually, having advanced 1½ cos we came to a small village lying amongst the hills, called Marhi, by which there is a small rivulet and 10¹ far from it another village called Sja Jaen poer,² at which place H. E. and company took a little refreshment under a spreading tree. Having departed thence and climbed 1½ cos further on our journey, we reached the top of the mountains. Descending not without great peril we found on our left hand the spot Anthry³ and beside the same the convoy awaiting us from the Mier Chan, the souba of Goutler, under whose escort, after riding a cos we came to a fine garden and 2 cos further stopped at the serra Palaer, which the river Sinde (Sindh) passes; in which place having passed the night in peace we proceeded.

The 21st ditto.—with the glimmering of day upon our journey under the same convoy, crossed the aforesaid river and 2 cos further passed the village of Gestondry and after 2 cos riding took up our quarters in the Lauki serra, from which

The 22 ditto.—at sunrise we again took the road under the same escort and half a cos further passed the village of Gandaser with its rivulet and 1½ cos further on the village of Sjamaer, without any molestation. But having gone 2 cos further and come to the large village of Palaetsja which stands on a steep eminence by the river called the Parwe.i (Parwati), the peasants were seen in great numbers and armed, notwithstanding that, as has been said, they had been apprised of our approach by our Gorsberdaers. H. E. and the vanguard, although some shots were fired, were allowed to pass unmolested, but His Hon. E. Bernards with the last carts having arrived there, four of these were seized under the pretext that they were merchant's carts, at which some of our escort protesting, a horseman was severely wounded by an arrow in his back and a cut on his head. But at the instigation of His Excellency who went back with His Hon. Bernards, said carts were released after the payment of certain moneys. The road from the village in question lay through a pleasant valley by the mountains, upon which on the left hand side 2 cos from there lay a village called Degonny

¹Morar, a village 4 miles east of Lashkar and 3 miles from Old Gwalior. It was previously the seat of British cantonments. Kota is a deserted village 4 miles south of Lashkar.

²Shahjahanpur.

³Antri (26° 3' N., 78° 16' E.) fort in Gwalior State, now railway station between Gwalior and Datia.

and 2 cos further the village and serra of Magronny,¹ where we took up our quarters.

The 23rd ditto.—At daybreak His Hon. Bernards departed to greet the Souba of Nerwer² in the name of H. E. and to acquaint him with our arrival and likewise to dispose this governor to give us a suitable escort, being shortly after followed by the Ambassador and the whole train. Two cos further we crossed the forementioned river over a costly stone bridge, which had been built by a celebrated Amerauw of the Emperor Sja Jaen, called Schaste Chan,³ for the accommodation of travellers, seeing that the river being full of rocks and the bed very uneven it could not be crossed by men and animals without great peril, being twenty-six arches long and high, by which H. E. stayed until the whole train had passed over, after which H. E. marched on and 1 cos further took up his quarters close by the town of Nerwer (Narwar) in a serra of the same name.

In the evening the Ambassador received sealed letters from the residency of Agara, with the information that the couriers had been detained two days by the peasants in revolt, and had then been set free.

Also the Lord Ambassador was congratulated on his arrival in the province by the brother of the ragia, a young gentleman of about eighteen years, who in return was received by H. E. with great friendliness.

The 24th ditto.—We kept a day of rest, as His Hon. merchant Bernards was not yet returned, nor any news of him arrived.

The 27th ditto.—An hour before sunrise we left the aforesaid serra and passed through the town of Nerwer,⁴ being an open place without walls, which has a castle standing on a high rock of great natural strength, but internally quite decayed, which is $3\frac{1}{2}$ cos in circumference, and which contains 3 grand mahels in good condition being one of ragia nel, one of a ragia Annoepsing, and one of the present ragia Gessingh (now honoured by the Emperor Jehaen daer sja (Jahāndār Shāh) with the name of his father Annoepsingh); the castle is also provided with several large talauwen, one of which was founded by Ragia Nel, and has as many as 90 deep water wells, which even when the talabs are dried up still yield sufficient water. The road to the fort runs up very steeply, at the foot of the hill

¹Magroni (25° 42' N., 77° 58' E.), village in Gwalior State, formerly famous for iron smelting.

²Narwar (25° 39' N., 77° 56' E.), town in Gwalior State, with famous hill-fort.

³Shaista Khan who filled many important offices of State under Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb and died in A.D. 1694. He is often mentioned in Bernier's travels as Chah-Hestkan. The bridge is still in existence. (Photograph available in Archl. Offices.)

⁴Local tradition connects Narwar with King Nala, the hero of a famous episode from the Mahabharata. The chiefs of Narwar belonged to the Kachh-clan.

five gates must be passed before entering. This place is said to have been founded long ago by the forefathers of the abovementioned ragia. Two cos from this town we passed by a strong bridge consisting of twenty-five stone arches, over the river Sindé (Sindh). This bridge was also built for the ease of travellers by the abovementioned ameranw Djaitechan (Shāista Khān). From there the road lay continually through and over high mountains, which seemed almost impossible for the carts to pass. Indeed after passing the whole day in this arduous travelling, they were obliged to remain for the night on the last mountain, but H. E. and further friends arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon in the serra Dongri by which a village of the same name lies,¹ to wait there for the delayed carts.

The 28th ditto.—Kept Mockam (makām); conveyances in question arrived in the forenoon safely and without any injury.

The 29th ditto.—At peep of day left abovementioned serra, under escort of a golden mace bearer of the aforesaid ragia. Proceeding on our journey, found the road to lie over low hills in reasonably good condition; 4 cos from Dongri passed a large village, before which His Hon. Bernards was met and welcomed. Further, having laid back one cos, we reached the residency of the often mentioned Ragia Getsingh. In passing this town, at the Ragia's express request, H. E. and all the Europeans paid their respects to him in his abode and were received by the prince with much civility, the Lord Ambassador invited to sit close beside him on his left hand and the other friends according to rank. After some discourse the Ragia requested the Lord Ambassador that the military might make a charge with their firelocks, which was granted and delivered to Insign Neythart to execute, in which the prince seemed to take great delight, and after three charges thanked H. E. very politely. After a little more sitting the Lord Ambassador and company took leave, passed through the rest of the town, and pitched his camp just outside.

The 30th ditto.—Were obliged to stay in camp there, as the above named ragia, thinking to gain a good contribution, would not give us an escort through his revolting province without a considerable sum of money, and without the same it was not thought advisable to hazard anything on the road, but rather to come to a reasonable agreement.

December.—As soon as day broke we decamped from before Cipri,² as in the meantime an agreement had been come to about a convoy, to proceed 3 cos further on our journey to the serra Sesy, which was done successfully. As the road lay through open ground we had not much to fear from being attacked by any one. By the serra, which is large and commodious, is a village of the same name,

¹Village Dongar on high road between Narwar and Sipri.

²Sipri (25° 25' N., 77° 41' E.) in Gwalior State. The late Maharaja of Gwalior made it his summer capital, built a palace there and called it Sivapuri.

where we spent the afternoon, our addy had to stay at the court of the abovementioned ragia, in order to give effect to our agreement concerning a sufficient convey.

The 2nd ditto.—At daybreak the march was continued, in the hope of continuing the journey for 8 cos to the village and serra Poera Dongri;¹ but when we had advanced 3 cos to a large hamlet place called Coelaris² we were warned by an express from the ragia Gessing not to go any further, as last night the town of Nerwer had been attacked by the peasantry in revolt and on the road we were to pass also some of his villages had been reduced to ashes and ruined by the scoundrels, but that for our own safety we were to await a convoy of some 100 of his horsemen from Locoem. H. E. felt obliged to follow this advice and to move into the serra of Coelaris until the convoy in question should arrive, to hasten which the addy Nouroos allie Beek³ was sent back to the frequently mentioned ragia, which was however, of little or no effect and day after day passed fruitlessly, which gave us not a little anxiety, as we were in dubio if the message of the ragia was in good faith, or with evil intention. To this was added the not too pleasant news, that we gained in the meantime, that prince Adsuddien had been totally defeated by Farochsjeer and had been obliged to save himself by flight to Agara and then Delhi.

The 9th ditto.—In the forenoon His Hon. Bernards and the assistant Calde went back to Cipri to the ragia, but could not attain their object inasmuch as he strongly recommended the Lord Ambassador with his train to retreat once more to Cipri, which

The 10th ditto.—was done, although uncertain when heaven would permit us to proceed. The ragia in the meantime having learned that amongst the Dutch suite of this embassy were some lovers of the chase, of which he himself was a devotee

The 17th ditto.—at break of day sent one of his servants to advise the Lord Ambassador that His Highness was about to proceed into the country to partake of this diversion and that it would not be disagreeable to him if he were accompanied by some Hollanders, for which the under merchant and treasurer Sr. Johan Haek with the first clerk of the embassy Ernst Coenraet Grav offered themselves. They were ordered to make ready without delay and proceed to the ragia, which was promptly done. The ragia accompanied by two brothers, one of 10 and the other of 11 years about, with a suite of some 200 horsemen passed out of the name of the Lord Ambassador, to which His Highness replied with a very friendly countenance and ordered them to join close at his side. Which being done the ragia enquired of them of diverse matters in Europe

¹Burha Donger ("Old Donger") village with Mogul Sarai still extant.

²Kolaras, village in Gwalior State. It is an ancient place described by Sir Alexander Cunningham. It is now headquarters of a *tahsil*.

³Nauroz Ali Beg.

concerning customs in hunting and war and other things, to which receiving suitable but guarded replies the prince seemed to be pleased. Two cos from the town the horsemen, who had spread out on all sides, discovered several hares in their forms the ragia brought the messieurs to them in person, shot one after the other with great nicety with arrows and offered them to the same; later one more of these animals being put up the prince had it caught by his dogs, telling the treasurer that if another were found his dogs might also have a run, giving orders to his people that his own dogs so long should be held fast, which shortly afterwards took place and one of the aforesaid creatures, after it had been injured by a pistol shot from Hack, was caught by 3 dogs, whereby men did admire with what rapidity the ragia, although the ground was perilous from many stones and rocks, was able to follow the fugitive game on his horse at full gallop. In the meanwhile, time having passed and it become mid-day, in returning to the town the ragia let diverse partridges and quails be caught by falcons. Arrived at the dwelling of the prince, the messieurs dismounting from their horses to render thanks for the honour enjoyed, he would not dismiss them but invited them into his audience chamber, where they were seated with his brothers at his right hand. After sitting a considerable time and being asked various curious questions by the prince about Europe, they received permission to return home, while the game caught was sent to the Lord Ambassador by a golden mace bearer with polite greeting from his Princely Highness.

The 18th ditto.—In the morning the abovementioned prince sent his diwan to the Lord Ambassador assuring H. E. that he had taken great pleasure in the company of the two Hollanders who had yesterday accompanied him in the chase and requesting him not to be cast down that he had detained us so long, this being for our own good. Now the ragia had received good tidings that the trouble with the ragia with whom he was at war, were as good as ended and within four or five days he would be able to accommodate us with a sufficient escort of his horsemen to convoy us as far as the town of Cerons.¹ For this agreeable tidings the Lord Ambassador returned his thanks to the prince.

The 19th ditto.—The ragia betaking himself at break of day to a wild boar hunt, sent one of his officers to request the aforementioned enthusiasts again to accompany him, to which the Ambassador consented. When appearing before the said prince in front of the town, he had them to ride the whole time at his side, and give answer to His Highness diverse questions on diverse customs in Holland. Having advanced to a great mountain range about 3 cos further, we entered the same with all the horsemen who were with us, being about 200 men. The ragia recommended the messieurs

¹Sironj, town in Tonk State.

¹Cf. p. 10, footnote 1.

not to absent themselves, but to keep close to him, as it was somewhat perilous owing to the tigers. Much industry and eagerness was shown to get a good catch, although after riding 3 cos through the mountains and thick forest nothing was raised or caught, but a large tiger-wolf which being instantly surrounded on all sides by the horsemen was slain with lances. On returning towards evening the aforesaid enthusiasts were brought to a large tauwlaui which was full of waterfowl. Here they were requested to shoot, which they did and sometimes hit three or four ducks at one shot, which raised no little surprise amongst the people, as they were not acquainted with shot, and were accustomed to shoot with a bullet, and thought that the Hollanders did the same, in which opinion they were left and not permitted to witness the loading of the guns. In the meantime the *ragia*, who in order to view the shooting was reclining upon an *alcatyv*¹ beneath a tree, praised the *messieurs* mightily when they appeared before His Highness, presented them with what they had shot and invited them to come and sit beside him and rest a little. Shortly after the prince betook himself to another tauwlaui, as by the repeated shooting the game had flown. Here he requested the first clerk to load his gun, very curiously inlaid with gold, in the Dutch manner, which was done, whereupon the prince shot at the ducks having the good fortune to his one of the same he was so mad with it that he continued till sunset, and all the good game being gone shot at the crows. Returning by torch light, the *ragia* directed his two young brothers to take them *messieurs* between them and take them to the court, where, as at the first time, they must again sit down beside him, notwithstanding that His Highness as well as all the rest were not a little fatigued and tired, telling his nobles, who according to the custom of the country came to congratulate him upon the pleasures of the chase and the bag, how the two Hollanders who were with him, without '*forket stok*'¹ (which they, the natives use) had hit their mark so well at the very first shot. After an hour they were licensed to return to their domicile, and to offer all the game, born by a golden mace bearer, to the Ambassador, with affectionate greetings from His Highness, who rendered his thanks for the same, (and sent the mace bearer back with a present for his trouble).

The 21st ditto.—The oft mentioned *ragia* let the Lord Ambassador know that he could quietly get ready for his further journey, avoiding all noise so that evil people could form no bad designs upon our way. Moreover that he would have us accompanied from village to village as far as *Cérons* (*Sironj*) by a good convoy of his horsemen. At the fall of evening H. E. with his deputies betook him to the prince, in order to thank him for the friendship and benevolence they had enjoyed from His Highness'

¹The '*forket stok*' (forked stick), on which the musquet is rested for aiming.

abode, they were invited to be seated, were entertained with various amiable discourses and presented with bettels, and at their departure, the Lord Ambassador received a gold, and his assistants silver robes of honour.

The 22nd ditto.—At break of day we abandoned, under a good convoy of Ragiapoets (Rajputs) the residency of Cipri, passed after riding 3 cos the serra Seya, 3 cos from that the spot Coelaris, (Kōlaras), 2½ further we left on our left hand the village Sansara, passed 1 cos from there the village Lequassera, 1 cos further left on our right hand on an eminence the village Kokary and arrived after a march of 1 cos at 4 o'clock in the afternoon at the serra Bodadonger¹ ½ cos from Kokary where we put up for the coming night.

Having travelled several days after another in peace and quiet, not only under the convoy that should take us from Cipri to Ceron, but also under the accompaniment of the escort who according to the Ciprian ragia's orders awaited us at each village we continued our journey to the serra named Catsjenad² which was beset by the fausdaer of Keysera Dillawen Chan (? Dilāwar Khān) both with cavalry and infantry.

The 25th ditto.—In the morning when we wished to leave the above named place of rest proceed on our journey, we found the gates shut by the sjamedaer (jamadār) and all the people under his command stood on the gesses (?) of the serra in question in full arms with the face inwards to prevent our departing thence unless we would pay 10,000 rupees. From these pretensions he would not withdraw at first, however strongly we protested, behaving as if he were drunk, but the officer who commanded our convoy from Cipri protested violently against it, threatening that in case the gates of the serra were not opened he and his people would know how to find the key and open them by force, the sjamedaar answered, before that should happen he would first be cut to hotchpotch. The head of our escort thereupon answered that the sjamedaar would see what he would get from him and the Hollanders, who were not at all inclined to accord to his unreasonable pretentions, at that got to horse with all his people, when the aforesaid head of the militia hastily changed his tone, contented himself with a gift, and allowed us to depart without any molestation. Having laid back 3 cos we passed the village of Dsjepaun and 1 cos further having reached the Mogol serra, it was considered right to take up quarters there, notwithstanding that there was little accommodation, seeing that both men and beasts, from the forced marches that had been made during the last days, were fatigued and quite exhausted.

The 26th ditto.—Our journey was continued over steep and

¹Bodadonger, evidently the same as Poera Dongri, i.e. Burha Donger. Cf. p. 108.

²Cf. above, p. 100.

difficult mountains called the Gaty to the town of Cerons (Sironj), which we passed through, and made our camp at a great taulaun on the further side. This town is celebrated for the linen trade that is driven there, and has 3 serras or places of rest, which were occupied by three caffilas with linen for the Mongolian (Moghul) court under the escort of 4 or 5,000 men, which had laid there for several months, and had not dared to travel from there for fear of the notorious Robber whose country we had passed through, notwithstanding that they had already offered 5,000 rupees to have an unmolested journey. From this we could perceive that the prince ragia Gessingh who had convoyed us so far by his own people, had meant well by us.

And as some days of rest were required, both for our repose, and in order to make known per letter our arrival to the souba Amanetchan who has command over the province of Malva under which this place sorts, and to request a convoy from H. E. thus some days of mockam being necessary, we were obliged to lie there for a few days. In the meanwhile the Lord Ambassador and his deputies paid a visit to the fausdaer (faujdār) of the town, named Sjeigh Facel Chan,¹ which gentleman received Their Honours very politely, and expressed his willingness to provide us with an adequate convoy, provided His Honour had enough men at hand and was able; counselling the Lord Ambassador for this reason to remain in loco until the convoy should arrive from his principal, Amanet Chan. H. E. and attaches being returned to their encampment after remaining a short time with the aforesaid officer, the fausdaer of the suburbs of Cerons came with a considerable train of horsemen, and footsoldiers and various kettle-drums and banners, to welcome the Lord Ambassador, and offer his services. This was answered in applicable terms, and seeing that it was uncertain whether the expected convoy from Amenet Chan or Sja Amenet Chan would in fact advance so far, as it was wished to press the journey as speedily as possible, the Hon. Bernards was

The 29th ditto.—sent to the above named fausdaer (faujdār) to request His Hon. for an escort, for which he promised to care to the utmost of his power, as indted

The 31st ditto.—at 8 o'clock in the morning a fausdaer of a village 16 cos from Cerons, with about 50 horsemen appeared before H. E. and announced that he had been ordered to accompany H. E. Having travelled thus several days in succession, under the escort of these horsemen over mountains and difficult roads to a spot called Kalara, we were met not far from there by a convoy of horsemen from the aforementioned Souba Sja Amanet Chan, and taken by a road which he had expressly instructed the commanding officer to use, seeing that the direct road was not all too secure on account

¹Sheikh Fazl Khan. (?)

of the robbers with whom H. E. had been at blows, scattering the rabble.

Anno 1713

The 6th January. Arriving at a populous city named Sarangpoer,¹ we there re-crossed the river mention of which has been made in these journals, named Sinde, or Calit Sinde and formed our camp beside the same. At the other side of the water the army of the above mentioned Amanet Chan was encamped, 14,000 strong and composed of picked men. The Souba was greeted by H. E. and suite, and showed great pleasure at the arrival of H. E. there, assured him of the continuation of his gracious friendship, and promised to send a *mesmanie*² or banquet of butter, sugar, flour and some sheep and goats. From which, rendering polite thanks for the same, H. E. excused himself, as he was resolved not to stay there at all, but to make as much haste with his journey as was possible. For which purpose H. E. wishing the Souba good fortune in his enterprise and all prosperity took final leave of him.

At dawn of day decamped from Sarangpore and under a fresh convoy of 100 horsemen from Amanet Chan after riding 1 cos. we came to a village called Oekauwtha.³ Here we were shown a great masonry grave of a dog, and beside it a stone bauli or water well, of which the natives told the following story. A certain influential merchant of Sjanapoer,⁴ was in the habit of travelling from there to Sarangpoer bearing a considerable capital in money with him for trading purposes. On the road he was robbed of all that he had with him and found himself obliged, for the execution of his affairs, to take up the sum of 10,000 rupees on credit from a distinguished money-lender in the last named town, who was a good friend of his. As pledge, he left a large dog that was trained to various tricks, instructing the animal that he must not leave there until the borrowed money was returned, the which the dog obeyed. In the meantime the money-lender one night while attending a wedding and being out of his Fouse, was robbed of a large sum of money and at his return became aware of the same with great consternation. The dog saw this, and coming to the money-lender, nudged him with his snout and ran to the door of the room. This he did several times, so that the money-lender remarking that the creature had a purpose in doing so, opened the door, whereupon the dog, constantly looking round and wagging

¹Sarangpur (23° 34' N., 76° 31' E.), town on the Kali Sindh river, in Dewas State. It is associated with the love of Baz Bahadur of Malwa. It is described by Sir Alexander Cunningham.

²*Cf.* p. 7, footnote 1.

³Ukaota, a village on the high road.

⁴Shajapur, a town on the Tilar river, now headquarters of a district of Gwalior State.

his tail, led the money-lender, who with some of his servants followed him in great curiosity, to a certain garden lying not far off. Here he began to scratch up the ground, and the money-lender seeing this, became of opinion that something must be hidden there. He at once had the ground dug up, and found in it not only that which had been taken from him, but a great treasure of other wealth, at which the money-lender was not less delighted than he was surprised by the faithfulness of the animal, and immediately wrote a letter to the owner of the dog, in which he acquainted him with what had happened, and released him from the 10,000 rupees he had borrowed. This letter he bound to the neck of the dog and told him to carry it to his lord and master, which the dog did. But his master meeting him on the road was very angry with him and said "Thou faithless one, why hast thou put disgrace on me by running away," and instantly shot him with an arrow. Hereupon seeing the letter on the dog, and having read it, he was plunged in remorse for his hastiness, and caused the tomb to be raised, and a well to be sunk for the ease of travellers and the poor.

Our journey was continued from there and diverse villages and hamlets passed till we came to a large village named Sonnera,¹ before which was the battlefield where the above mentioned Souba Sja Amanet Cran not long ago had defeated the ragia Rottensingh,² slain him and sent his head to the Emperor (for which Orangzeep (Anrangzeb) had bestowed on him the title of Islam Chan). The heads of the further slain were exhibited along the road built into stone pillars. A few villages passed, some cos further we came to a large town called Sjajaenpoer,³ lying not unpleasantly on the river Tiler, the which river on the one side is supported by a sufficient wall of stone whereby on that side the town is reasonably secure, below the same the bed of the river is all rocks, wherefore our carts must go a long way round to reach our encampment which we had formed outside this place.

The 9th and the 10th ditto.—Our journey continued, without any notable occurrences, passed the village of Soerkotha Patterki with a serra, Sangmie, the serra and village of Kana-Saya (where, owing to the very rocky mountains the roads were almost impracticable for our carts) and further the villages Padora-kera, near which the roads are in reasonable condition and there is a river called Calis Sinde (Kālī Smḍh), with more villages hamlets not worth naming to the capital and residency of the ragia of the province named Ajeen.⁴ This place is large and populous, but provided with bad houses and few costly edifices. It drives a great trade in grain, having on the south side a fairly large river called Separa

¹Sunera, a village on the high road.

²Ratan Singh.

³Shajapur, 60 miles N. E. of Indore.

⁴Ujjain, the ancient Ujjayini.

(Sipra). Here the embassy and beasts greatly fatigued, but it was considered to be of service to the Hon. Comp. that the principal ministers of Amanet Chan, Mier Sallacl Addien and Jageruñact (who had always shown themselves friends of the Hon. Comp.) should be visited by the Lord Ambassador and his deputies, which was done, and reciprocally, the Ambassador and his suite were complimented on their arrival with great sincerity and joy.

The 12th ditto.—Addressing ourselves again to travel, we marched passed the villages of Manglaes, Ketaan, Naemheri, Bambehoor (by the last named of which is a costly and well constructed bauli) Comuas and the river Dagambier, the village Niesinga and the river Gjonmuel, moreover, the villages Sjelaen, Nautay, and came without any difficulties to a large village named Badenawer,¹ being the residency of the ragia Sultaensingh, which lies upon five hills with a castle in the midst, before which we encountered a small detachment of about 400 horsemen of Amanet Chan, who had come to an accord with the ragia named. Here we stayed

The 15th ditto.—as the said ragia informed the Lord Ambassador that the road by Jaboa (Jhabua) was very unsafe and 1,500 horsemen from thence were in progress towards him. H. E. having despatched a letter to the ragia of Jaboa to announce his arrival and to request a convoy through his country, thought it advisable to await his answer before continuing the journey, and to see if what the ragia had spoken was the truth or not, as we did not quite dare to trust either the one or the other in this matter. The answer was brought in the evening by return express, and therefrom it appeared that the Lord Ambassador with his train could depart with a quiet heart, as the ragia of Jaboa would have us escorted unmolested from place to place. Thus the whole train

The 16th ditto.—departed in the morning from before Badenwer not only under the old convoy that the souba of Oetjaen (Ujjain) Lord Amanet Chan had provided us with so far, but also under a new escort of same horsemen from the above mentioned detachment, as well as 25 horsemen and 100 footmen from Rajah Sultaensingh. That day our way was very difficult and not a little perilous through deep forests and mountains, hollow roads, and regular robbers' caves. We passed the river Bagerie, by some called Sirwint and the May² being the frontier between the country of ragia Sultaensingh and that of Jaboa, which said waters being very difficult for the carts to pass, on account of the hard rocky bed, obliged us to form our

¹Badnawar, in Dhar State

²The Mahi. "The height of its banks and the fierceness of its floods, the deep ravines through which the traveller has to pass on his way to the river, and, perhaps above all, the bad name of the tribes who dwell about it, explain the proverb: "When the Mahi is crossed, there is comfort." (*Inys. Gaz. of India*, vol. xvii, p. 12.)

camp a cos from there in the mountains, on a plateau called Cassaerbary, where we could get nothing and barely drinking water.

The 18th ditto.—At break of day broke up camp, and found the road not less dangerous for us than the day before, which caused us to be constantly on our guard. After accomplishing several cos and crossing a river called Laerki, we found on the other side 100 coolies drawn up under a captain giving himself out to be a ragia, who on the arrival of H. E. on the spot, came to greet him, and sat down beside the Lord Ambassador under a tree. Shortly after they went away, and assembled on an eminence by the river, and had the carts held up by some of them, with the demand for money for beetels. But the gosberdaer (gursbardār) given us from the Mangolian (Moghul) court opposing them in the matter, and showing the imperial destekks (pass-ports) or mandates or letters of safe-conduct,¹ they allowed us to proceed undisturbed. The mountains continuing for some cos, we at length reached, not without joy, open country and a good road and came to a large village called Pallande (also Piplot) to pass the night.

At break of day we left our place of rest under the already mentioned convoys. The robbers or grassias² so called, were clever enough, under cover of a thick mist, to appropriate one of our water camels and drive it towards the woods, but were pursued by our convoys at full gallop and deprived of the looty. After this we again came into great mountains and thick forests, where, after the mist had left us, we saw here and there parties of armed peasants, who however let us pass untroubled; this notwithstanding we were on our guard and marched as close as was possible. Having passed through the greatest mountains, we saw on both right and left hand diverse villages, and arrived at last after much fatigue at a reasonably large village called Bagauw, the principal place of the ragia Jaboa (Jhābua) and lying on a large talauw or pond of water, at which we threw ourselves down, although the just mentioned ragia has not his domicile there, but 3 cos inland, in the fort Jaboa. Shortly after our arrival there the Lord Ambassador was informed that the son of the ragia, Prince Paetsen, with his diwan had arrived in the aforementioned village, to welcome H. E. although we suspected such to be more from reasons of interest and greed than from honest friendship. This suspicion we found to our sorrow was all too well founded for the next day, keeping still, to await the old ragia, the diwan of the ragia's son came to inspect our cafila, noted down all the carts, and for each of these

¹Here the word in the original is 'destekk.' Cf. above, p. 85, footnote.

²*Gras* used for the black-mail paid by a village to a turbulent neighbour as the price of protection and forbearance. The title of *grassia*, originally an honourable one, became at last a term of approbrium, conveying the idea of a professional robber. Cf. Hobson-Jobson, i.v. *grassia*.

whether large or small demanded 16 rupees and *pro rata* for the camels and horses separately. To this excessive demand the Lord Ambassador not being able to consent, we found ourselves obliged to await the arrival of the old ragia (who was said to be of a reasonable disposition) in loco, and to enter into no accord with these usurpers. The above mentioned son (who was said by the instigation of his second to have fought 3 battles against his father, but had always been reconciled again to the same by the help of ministers) towards evening sending a party of horsemen to demand some money for subsistence, averring that he had lain there six weeks expressly for our sakes and had lost several horses, he could not avoid giving them a small sum of money to get rid of them, howbeit the Lord Ambassador was, warned by one of the natives that the object of these thievish people was to exhaust our patience by all manner of finesses, and if they were given the smallest excuse to plunder the whole caravala. This, their vile intention, could be traced well enough in the impudence with which the prince and his diwan more and more began to behave, although we now daily with argus-eyes looked out for the coming of the old ragia, and flattered ourselves with the hope that then matters would change for the better.

The 21st ditto.—When finally and at last the heathen king made his appearance the Lord Ambassador greeted him with much politeness, (and falling into discourse about affairs, H. E. offered the ancient prince in return for a passage through his father's district, 2 carpauws or robes of honour, as well as a horse. He answered that he was satisfied therewith and would immediately endorse a pass-port with his signature and a siap. But no sooner had his son and his intriguing diwan got news of this than they came with great importunity and abusive language to attack the old ragia in H. E.'s tent, saying that if they did not obtain their demand of us, they would break all our necks, and seize and plunder all there was, which so greatly embarrassed the old ragia that he knew not what to do and dared not to answer anything to it. And seeing that against these tyrants in the dangerous mountain passes and forests nothing could be done, and they would not listen to the smallest reason, but played *sic volo sic jubeo*, we found ourselves necessitated, if we would get out of this melancholy labyrinth, to give them 2 horses and 2 carpauws and a considerable sum of rupees as passage money, in place of the impudent demand which they had made before, for the king's presentation horse to the Lord Ambassador, as well as a large sum of ready money and other things: after this contract the passport was signed not only by the old ragia but also by the son and his diwan and delivered to the Lord Ambassador, with the condition that early tomorrow morning they would escort us out of their province into the next one. At this, not without great anxiety and distrust of the variable and rascally temper of the heathens, we

The 22nd ditto.—betook ourselves at break of day to the road. But the rearguard having barely left the encampment, the vanguard was held up by the oft mentioned diwan who wished to escort us in person, like the wolf the sheep, under the pretext that the contract agreed upon concerned the carts and horses but not the camels, who we were again obliged to content with some promises. His wickedness did not stop there, as he moreover took to'l of horses, oxen, goats, etc. in payment before we were able to proceed from there. After riding 3 cos through dark forests we arrived at the river called Banaes, which is evil to ford on account of its rocks. The carts being in the midst of the water amongst the rocks were *de novo* held up by the diwan and a sum of 1,000 rupees demanded. Against this not only the royal gorsbardaar (gurzbardār) sent with us, but also the escort from H. E. Lord Amanet Chan violently protested, the first with threats of their king and the others of their nabob, saying that everything that was forced from us in this violent way was as good as taken from their principal treasure-chest, who would not fail to redeem his pledge on them and had already crossed the river May (Mahī) with a formidable army, in order to pay off on their ragia not only this but old scores. The rascal paid no attention to this, saying with a laugh that they cared not for king or nabob, as at their approach they had only to flee into the mountains, when they would presently have to retreat fruitlessly. Also, money was demanded in place of one of the horses given to the ragia as he had hunted with it in such wise that a heavy fall had wounded it in the breast. If we wished to continue our journey and rid ourselves of this scum, we saw ourselves forced to consent, as well as to a good bunch of rupees for the crossing of the river. These difficulties having been overcome in the early morning, the train got once more under weigh and after a perilous march pitched its camp amongst the mountains on a plateau called Catta Bauli, where nothing could be seen but a few rows of sentry houses. At night a strong watch was kept, and diverse alarms given, caused by some of the thieves from the mountains wishing to practice in our encampment. The coutewael (kotwāl) with his sentries discovered them and pursued them into the woods, but were obliged to return to the encampment, as several men had been severely wounded by arrows from the voleurs. As soon as Aurora

The 23rd ditto.—showed her face the journey was pursued, and after 4 cos riding we left, not without joy, the territory of Jaboa. Some cos further we met a fresh convoy of 50 horsemen from the fausdaer of Dahoor (Dohad), being one of the king's servants, who brought us to the place named with great politeness with and beside the escort of Amanet Chan. In the meantime the diwan of Jaboa, like a criminal, quietly retired home at the first frontier place. The Lord Ambassador having arrived in the above named place, was very respectfully complimented upon his safe arrival by the fausdaer there, and regaled with a mesmanie of sheep, goats

and other victuals.

Dahota¹ is a reasonably large town, but not a fortress. It is celebrated for the fact that the famous Mongolian (Moghul) Emperor Orangzeep (Aurangzeb) was born there, to whose memory the mother of the Emperor in question has erected a large serra or place of rest for travellers, and in the midst of the same a costly temple, on the spot where this Mongier (Alangir) was born into the world. This serra is of pure stone, very clean and well executed, and is held to be the best and most beautiful in the whole Mongolian (Moghul) Empire. Through the almost unsurmountable difficulties we had been subjected to by the acts of the ragias and other rabble, not less than the heavy marches which we had made several days in succession without rest by day or by night, both men and beasts were greatly exhausted. It was therefore found needful to rest there the following day, and put ourselves in proper condition again for the remainder of our journey. In the meantime the officer who H. E. Lord Amanet Chan had thus far sent with us, received licence, with his people and a suitable recompense for his trouble and friendship, to return to his cited lord and master.

The 25th ditto.—Again, in spite of very bad roads through thick forests and great mountains, a march of 10 cos was made, with no further encounters than that the baggage was stopped by 100 Biēls,² but again released at the promise of a gift, which was also given.

The 26th ditto.—At break of day we left our place, when a tannedaer (thānadār) with a strong party of men stopped the train, but was satisfied with a small present to let it go again. Advancing further into the forest, we met here and there sentinels of the ragia Bangdas Rouwel, both on foot and horseback, who let us pass unmolested. About 2 miles further, coming to a talauw (talao), the Lord Ambassador was informed that the aforesaid ragia was coming to salute him in person, which shortly after took effect. At a waiting place called Schierie tschookie, the ragia, accompanied by two of his sons, welcomed H. E. with many assurances of respect. After some sitting he made overtures for passage money, over which there was much debate, but finally a reasonable agreement was come to, after the accomplishment of which the Lord Ambassador wished to travel 3 cos further but was obliged by reiterated and very polite requests from the prince to remain there for the night, with the promise that the ragia would so surround us with his people that not the least harm should come to us. Of this he fully acquitted himself, and after a friendly talk requested that the Lord Ambassador would have the goodness to put the European military

¹Dohad (22° 50' N., 74° 16' E.), now headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in the Panch Mahals District, Bomlay. As the name ('two boundaries') indicates, Dohad is the frontier-town between Malwa and Gujarat.

²Bhīls (the Bhīllas of Sanskrit literature) a wild tribe of hunters and woodmen whose original home is the hilly country between Abu and Asirgarh.

that he had with him, through their drill. This being consented to and done, it caused him no little admiration. Having enjoyed this pleasure he returned with H. E. into his tent, where he no sooner saw a snaphaen (fire-lock ?) besides a silver inlaid hooka and quispedoor then he asked for them in polite terms and received them both, and kept H. E. company till 9 o'clock in the evening.

The 27th ditto.—With the break of day the signal to march was given by the kettledrums and the ragia coming to greet the Lord Ambassador, gave him an escort of horsemen and wished him a prosperous journey. As the town of Godra¹ (belonging to the sobaship of Amedabad) was 13 cos from us, no diligence was spared to reach it under the aforesaid convoy and that of the fausdaer of Dahoot who thus far had acquitted themselves faithfully, and with the merciful blessing of God to be released from this land of thieves and protracted anxieties. And in truth in the afternoon we arrived at that place, and received tidings that prince Farochsjeer had been overcome by the Emperor Jelaendaersja (Jahāndār Shāh).

The 28th ditto.—The journey was continued 15 cos to a place called Kallool,² where further rumours of a battle that had closed between Jelaendaersja and Farochsjeer, which quite contradicted the first, and in this state of affairs found ourselves by no means out of great perils. Everywhere, in all the villages that we passed the so-called “grasses” were seen arms, but seeing us coming in well closed ranks and under the above mentioned convoys, they dared nothing except to despoil one of the natives who had absented himself too far from the road. The following day

The 29th ditto.—at dawn everything being ready to march, the Dahootan escort received their despatches for return and we set out under a fresh convoy from the fausdaer of Godra, and arrived without any evil encounters after travelling 15 cos, at the town of Brodra,³ took up our quarters there in a serra for a few days rest, as here there was nothing more at all to fear and we might consider ourselves as good as in safe harbour. Shortly after the Lord Ambassador had appeared in the place of rest in question, the brokers of the Hon. Comp. with other important Banians from Amedabat (Ahmadabād) come to compliment H. E., on his safe arrival there, also with the fatal and to us by no means agreeable tidings that the Emperor Jelaendaersja in an obstinate battle with Farochsjeer had encountered defeat, and that by the treachery of 4 of his principal amerauws, who in the beginning of the fight had deserted to Farochsjeer, and by which the Emperor had been obliged to climb down from his elephant, and with his Lord Chancellor Souilficaer Chan to save himself by flight, although it was

¹Godhra (22° 46' N., 73° 37' E.), now headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name in Panch Mahals District, Bombay.

²Kalo, now headquarters of the *taluka* of the same name Baroda State.

³Baroda (22° 18' N., 73° 15' E.), now capital of the Baroda State.

not known wither. This unpleasant news

The 30th ditto.—was confirmed by the Amadabat chief of the Hon. Comp. his hon. merchant Philip Sael, who with some clerks of the office came to welcome the Lord Ambassador and his suite, with the assurance that Farochisjeer had been declared Emperor in this town by beat of drum, and that in the name of the same coins had already been struck. What impression these fatal news made on the minds of those who had undertaken such a long and perilous journey, at great personal expense, can be easily imagined, but it was seen that it must be simply left to time to show what course affairs would take under a new government and whether the Hon. Comp. would enjoy the desired facilities for their valuable consignments.

The chief from Brootsia¹ undermerchant Sir Frederick Dudde with some clerks, together with the broker came to the Lord Ambassador to congratulate H. E. on his arrival there, in the company of which friends from Amadabat and Brootsia.

Primo February.—An hour before day the journey to Brootsia was begun, which place without any notable events was

The 3rd ditto.—reached, and after staying there some days for repose after the accomplished journey, half way between there and Souratta the Lord Ambassador was welcomed by the hon. temporal Commander Daniel Hurgronje, the hon. independent fiscal Gideon Bondaen together with some further officials and ship acquaintances. In company with these gentlemen the 7th of the last named month the city of Souratta was passed through in proper order and state, and we were established outside in the Hon. Comp.'s garden, thanking the merciful God that His Divine Majesty had vouchsafed us His gracious protection, and through so many incredible difficulties and perils had brought us to a happy conclusion.

¹Broach or Broch, the ancient Bharukachchha, near the mouth of the Narmada river.

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AKBAR'S POPULARITY.

Akbar the Great is described in histories as one of the most powerful and popular potentates of India. It is not proposed to detail the causes of his popularity. Here it is simply intended to show that one of the chief causes contributory to his popularity was his free intercourse with his subjects in their social life and this fact finds support from the marriage ceremonies of the Hindus of the South West of the Punjab, where his name is still honoured with the reverence that is due to a sovereign.

2. In Multan, one of the most ancient places in India and historically important as the classic ground of Alexander's conquest, a ceremony called the *tambol* ceremony is performed in the celebration of Hindu marriages. *Tambol* is described in the last paragraph of Part I of the *Punjab Civil Code* (edition 1854) as being presents made by neighbours and friends of the same caste on the occasion of marriage to each other. This *tambol* ceremony in the *Utradhi* section of the Arora community of Multan, to which the writer belongs, is performed as under:—

After the bridegroom's party reaches the bride's house and after all other ceremonies and the *Vedic* rites are performed both the bride and the bridegroom's parties sit together at one place and at this meeting presents in cash, gold and clothes are made by *dheta* (the head of the bride's party) to the bridegroom and some of his selected near relatives. These presents are made through a *bhāt* (lit. a bard), who after receiving a suit of clothes comprising of one *Pagrī*, one large handkerchief and a coat stands in the meeting assembled and exclaims thus:—

Jora kapra gabhrū de bhāū kūn tambol—

Translation.—(A pair of clothes is presented to the father of the bridegroom).

This he delivers personally to the bridegroom's father, who according to the time-honoured custom, wears these clothes over those already worn by him. Similarly presentations are made in turn to the bridegroom's paternal and maternal father by exclamations:—

Jora kapra gabhrū de dāde kūn tambol

Jora kapra gabhrū de nānc kūn tambol.

(A pair of clothes is presented to the paternal or maternal father of the bridegroom).

Cash or ornaments in gold or silver are placed in a silver tray and presented by the *bhāt* on behalf of the *dheta* to the *putreta* (the head of the bridegroom's party).

* Presents in the form of cash, valuables, etc., are then made

* "The *tambol* given is any sum from Re. 1 to Rs. 10 and seldom exceeds the latter sum. Careful accounts are kept of the *tambol* given and received." *Multan Gazetteer*, p. 80, (1927, edition).

by the other members of the family with which also is presented a cocoanut.

After this is over the *bhāt* then stands up and exclaims:—

Akbar Shāh Bādshāh de ghar dā nārel

Raja Todar Mal Tannan de ghar dā nārel

Misr Chhabildas Brahman de ghar dā nārel

Kishne Mangla de ghar dā nārel

Rain Ram Prithi pal Narula de garh dā nārel.

TRANSLATION.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of the Emperor Akbar.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of the Raja Todar Mal, caste Tannan.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of Misr Chhabildas, Brahman.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of Kishna Mangla.

A cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of Rain Ram, caste Narula Prithipat. (Lit. the lord of the land).

The *bhāt* does not present the cocoanuts referred to by him but simply makes the above recital.

3. From the above it appears that Akbar had enjoined on the officials of the *'ilāqa* to join the celebration of Hindu marriages and to present cocoanuts one on behalf of the Emperor and the other on behalf of themselves. It is also clear that Raja Todar Mal, the Revenue Minister of Akbar, is responsible for introducing this institution, which is still commemorated in spite of the fact that the House of the Emperor has ceased to reign since long. It, however, yet remains to be ascertained who the other personages mentioned are and what their relation with regard to the *tambol* ceremony is. Every possible effort has been made to get this matter cleared up but to no effect.

4. Another thing in this connection that has to be established is whether the cocoanut part of the ceremony is observed in other places as well. My enquiries show that as far as Multan is concerned this recital is made on the occasion of the marriages of the sons of the *Dakhna* and *Dahra* sections of the Arora community besides the *Utradhis* but is not in vogue in *Khatris* and Brahman circles. It is difficult to assign any reason for this difference as also to say whether this custom prevails in other parts of the South West Punjab, or the Punjab proper. It is, however, fairly certain that the *Khatris* of Bahawalpur observe this ceremony more or less in the same form as is done by the Aroras of Multan. The following passage from the *Gazetteer** of the Bahawalpur State is worthy of notice:—

* Bahawalpur *Gazetteer* (1904), p. 114.

† The Arora community of Multan is divided into three sections—*Utradhi* (Men of the North) *Dakhana* (Men of the South) and *Dahra* (Men of the Midland).

"As a preliminary to the *tambol* ceremony among the Khattris the *bhat* stands in the meeting assembled to contribute the *tambol* to the *Putreta* with a cocoanut in the right hand and exclaims:

Akbar Sháh Bádsháh de nárel, i.e., a cocoanut of (or sent by) the house of the Emperor Akbar and then makes it over to the *putreta*. Again taking another cocoanut in the hand he exclaims:

"*Todar Mal Tannan de ghar dá nárel*, i.e., a cocoanut contributed by Todar Mal Tannan, and gives the same to the *putreta* also. The practice is as old as the time of Akbar when it is said, both Akbar and Todar Mal sent one cocoanut each to every Khatri in the country, who celebrated the marriage of his son, the former to please the latter who was his Revenue Minister, and the latter to please his caste. The royal *tambol* ceased to exist from the death of Akbar, but the Khattris of this part of the country preserved the custom to perpetuate the memory of this popular potentate."

5. For the last several years Multan has been the battle-ground of communal tension between the Hindus and Muhammadans. This has had a baneful effect on this custom also. Since the despicable riots of 1922 the relations between the communities in Multan as well as in other places have been very much estranged with the result that each community has been contriving by all possible means to boycott the other. Here, as elsewhere, Muhammadans have been striving to eradicate even the shadow of Hindu element from almost all phases of their life. The Hindus have retaliated with equal force and vigour so much so that in the recital mentioned in para. 2 above for the words "*Akbar Sháh Bádsháh de ghar dá nárel*," the *bhatts* have since been using the words "*Sri Ram Chandr Ji de ghar dá nárel*." This change, though brought about by providential circumstances, is very much regretted but it is not without its significance as it tends to show how historical facts are shaped by such circumstances. Whether the Hindu *bhatts* of Bahawalpur have done the same it has not been possible to ascertain.

PARMANAND ARORA,

M.A., M.R.A.S.

SURGEON GABRIEL BOUGHTON.

In the paper entitled "Jahan-Ara" and published in the Journal of the Punjab Historical Society Vol. II, No. 2 (1914), the author has controverted the assertion that Surgeon Gabriel Boughton did not take part in the treatment and recovery of Jahan-Ara Begum, daughter of Emperor Shah Jahan. The learned author has noticed the "Boughton legend" at greater length than the scope of the article would seem to admit. He has consulted those sources which he has particularly noticed by name; and others, which he has omitted, as the context would show, to refer by name. As an editor and employee of the Bengal Asiatic Society, he must have read the paper on Surgeon Boughton and the privileges to the English traders published in 1912 in the Society's Journal, and Mr. William Foster's two learned Monographs in the Indian Antiquary for 1911 and 1912, on the former of which the paper in the Asiatic Society's Journal was based.

What the author's main contention is summed up in this one sentence "that Boughton must have left Surat many months (*could it not be many days or hours?*) earlier than the 3rd January, 1645." Again "It is quite in the fitness of things that Asalat Khan should have sent for a capable European Surgeon from Surat."

Without going through the various arguments and facts advanced by William Foster in the Indian Antiquary and by myself in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal *re* "the Boughton legend" may I at once bring to the notice of the writer of the article, Mr. Yazdani, that Gabriel Boughton went with Asalat Khan, who *had long importuned us* (President and Council at Surat), not to Agra, but to Central Asia,—to Balucke (Balkh) as a body—Physician of that minister. It is a fact noted by Persian writers that none but Hakīms or Yumanī Physicians took any part in prescribing those medicines that were taken internally; but Physicians and laymen of other nationalities took part in the treatment of the external sores. It is also a fact, that these latter treatments were of no benefit to the august patient, but only the ointments given by two unknown persons—Arif and Hemūn. Every one of the Physicians and quacks, whose medicines were found to be efficacious, were rewarded and mentioned in the Persian Histories of the time. But those whose medicines did no good to the Princess, were not mentioned. If Dr. Boughton was so quick as to arrive at Agra or Delhī in time, he too like others were not mentioned because his treatment like that of others was of no benefit to the Princes. Either he took no part in the treatment or took part without being successful in curing the sores. In either case Boughton, and through him the English Company could not get any concessions. Boughton got no concessions nor even a Khel'at.

HISTORY OF CHAMBA STATE.

(By J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel).

Chamba is one of the oldest Native States in India, having been founded not later than A.D. 600. It is situated in the bosom of the Himālaya Mountains, between north latitude $32^{\circ} 11' 30''$ and $33^{\circ} 13' 6''$ and east longitude $75^{\circ} 49' 0''$ and $77^{\circ} 3' 30''$. The boundaries are as follows:—

On the north-west and west, Jammu and Kashmir; on the north-east and east, Ladak, British-Lahul and Bara Bangāhal, on the south-east and south, the Districts of Kāngra and Gurdāspur.

The superficial area of the State is 3,216 square miles; with a population of 144,867 at the Census of 1921; giving a proportion of about 41 to the square mile.

In shape the State is more or less of a rough oblong contracted towards the north. The greatest length, from south-west to north-east, is about 70 miles; and the greatest breadth, from south-east to north-west, about 50 miles. The average length may be put at 65 miles, and the average breadth at 50 miles. Within this area are comprised a small portion of the Biās Valley; a section of the Rāvi Valley, which is the Chamba Valley Proper; and a similar section of the Chinab Valley called Pāngī and Chamba-Lahul. The territory is wholly mountains, with altitudes ranging from 2,000 to 21,000 feet above sea-level; the inhabited area reaching to 10,000 feet.

The mountain ranges running through the State from south-east to north-west and forming the watersheds of the great rivers are, the Outer Himālaya or Dhaulā Dhār, separating the Biās from the Rāvi; the Mid-Himālaya or Pāngī Range—the Pīr Panjāl of geologists—separating the Rāvi from the Chināb; and the Main Himālaya closing in the State to the north and separating the Chināb from the Indus.

The State contains five sub-divisions called *H'azārats*:—

Bhattiāt, in the Bias Valley.

Chamba, *Brahmour* and *Churah* in the Ravi Valley.

Pāngī including *Chamba-Lahul*, in the Chinab Valley.

Chamba, the capital, and the only town in the State, has a population of about 6,000. It stands on a plateau on the right bank of the Rāvi—19 miles due east of the hill station of Dalhousie and about 50 miles from Shāhpur, where the Rāvi debouches on the plains.

The principal authority for the history of the State is the *Ī'ansāwahī*, or genealogical roll of the Rājās, which in addition to a list of names contains much historical material of great interest. Its value as a historical record has been fully proved by the study of

the inscriptions which, on the one hand, have confirmed its credibility, and on the other, have derived from it much support in deciding chronological questions. Next in importance are the epigraphical records and copper-plate title-deeds. Sheltered by its snowclad mountains barriers, Chamba has had the rare good fortune to escape the successive waves of Muhammadan invasion which swept away all monuments of old Indian civilization on the plains. The result is that its ancient remains are more abundant and better preserved than in any other part of the Punjab. In Kashmir, a centre of Sanskrit learning in former times, the temples of Lalitaditya and his successors were ruthlessly destroyed by Sikandar Butshikan; and only a few poor fragments of inscriptions have come to light. In Chamba, the brazen idols of Meru-varman, nearly contemporaneous with the temple of Mārtand, still stand in their ancient shrines of carved cedar wood-copper plate grants issued by the early rulers of Chamba, whose names figure in the *Rājataranginī* are still preserved by the descendants of the original donees, who enjoy the granted lands up to the present day. Chamba is thus not only a store-house of antiquities, but in itself a relic of the past, invaluable to the student of India's ancient history.

Sir Alexander Cunningham was the first to draw attention, in 1839, to the ancient remains of Chamba, but it was only in more recent years that the whole wealth of antiquarian and especially epigraphical material has come to light. The inscriptions are found all over the State and are remarkable alike for their number and their variety. Excluding the last two centuries, no fewer than 130 inscriptions have been collected, of which 50 are of the pre-Muhammadan and 80 of the Muhammadan period. The oldest inscriptions are in the Gupta character of the seventh century, and those of a later date are in Sārada—the script in use in the Punjab hills, and probably also on the plains, from about the eighth century; and still in use in Kashmir. The more recent ones are in Tākari and Nāgari and a few in Tibetan. These records are classified according to the objects on which they are found, as rock inscriptions, image inscriptions slab inscriptions, and copper-plate title-deeds. The rock inscriptions are the most ancient, but they are few in number and difficult to decipher. The image inscriptions come next in point of age, which the oldest are found on the idols erected by Rāja Meru-Varma in Brahmaur about A.D. 700. Most of the stone inscriptions are found on large slabs, covered with quaint and grotesque figures, which the traveller will often observe at springs, either *in situ* or lying disused and broken. These slabs originally formed parts of elaborately carved water fountains erected in the olden time, chiefly by the Rānas and Thākurs, who ruled the country previous to the advent of the Rājas, and who continued to exercise great authority for centuries after their subjection. These inscriptions always record the erection of a cistern (called *Varuna-deva*), in memory of their deceased ancestor, and for their spiritual bliss in the next world. Such *carved* slabs are found not only all over the State but also beyond its borders,

whereas inscribed slabs seem to be peculiar to Chamba. The oldest of the latter kind records the erection of a temple by a feudatory of Rāja Meru-Varma, as the Rāna styles himself, and must therefore date from about A.D. 700. Historically these epigraphs are of great value. In most cases they are fully dated, both according to the era then in use and the regnal year of the ruling chief of the time. Two of them found in Pāngī have made it possible to fix the dates of accession of two Chamba Rājas of the twelfth century, whose names alone are found in the *Ṭansāvalī*.

The Chamba State also possesses a unique collection of copper-plate title-deeds—more than 150 in number,—five of them belonging to the pre-Muhammadan period. In ancient times and down almost to the present day it was customary to give copper-plate title-deeds, conveying grants of land to Brahmans and temples. Such title-deeds are referred to by the Chinese pilgrim, Fa Hian, and must therefore have been in use in the fifth century. With the exception of a few plates, the Panjāb has yielded no ancient records of this kind, though they must have been at one time as numerous there as in other parts of India. The pre-Muhammadan plates have a special value. The oldest of them was issued by Yugākara-Varma(n), son and successor of Rāja Sāhila-Varma(n), who founded the present capital. Three others, of the eleventh century, corroborate the references to Chamba in the *Rājataranginī*, and also give us the names of two Rājas which are not found in the *Ṭansāvalī*. Of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries not a single copper-plate has been found, but from A.D. 1,330 a series of plates begins which has been continued without interruption to the present day.

The most difficult problem in connection with these inscriptions is their chronology. The very early ones are not dated, and only palaeographic evidence is available in fixing the period to which they belong. The earliest dated epigraphs bear only the regnal year of the Rāja then in power, and not till the eleventh century do we meet with a document bearing a date of any recognized era. The first inscription, fully dated in both the Sāstra and Vikrama eras, is that of Rāja Vairāsi-Varma(n), A.D. 1,330, and from that time onwards the epigraphs usually bear a date in the Sāstra and Vikrama and sometimes also in the Sāka eras.

The Vikramaditya era appears to have only then begun to come into use in Chamba. Previous to this the era in common use was the Leka-kālā or Sāstra era already referred to, otherwise called the Saptarshi, or era of the Seven Rishis. It is identical with the Laukika or Kashmīri era of the *Rājataranginī*, which was in use in Kashmīr and throughout the hills from the earliest times, and is still in common use in Chamba State, along with the Vikramaditya and Christian eras.

The Sāstra era is a cycle of 2,700 years, each century being named after one of the 27 *Nakshatras*, or lunar mansions. The reckoning is, in practice, never carried beyond 100, and each century as it comes to an end is left entirely out of computation. The first

year of each century of this era corresponds to the 24th year of each Christian century. Though this era probably was in use in Chamba from the earliest times, it does not appear to have been used to record public events, at any rate no trace of any such use has yet been found previous to the eleventh century. This era is thus highly unsatisfactory for chronological purposes. It is found, however, on most of the copper-plates from that of Rāja Vairāsi-Varma(n) onwards. From that time there is clear and exact testimony from the plates confirmatory of the *Īansāvalī*. In all of them is mentioned the name of the reigning Rāja, by whom the grant was made, also usually the name of his father and often of his mother, and sometimes that of an ancestor. Generally, too, the name and date of the month, and in a few cases the day of the week on which the plate was given, are stated and in some of the plates there are other details which are of historical interest. So far as known, Chamba is the only place in the Panjāb where copper-plate grants of the pre-Muhammādan period are found, and the existence of a series of documents of this kind, issued by a line of rulers of one State, during a period of ten centuries, is thus unique in the province and probably in the whole of India. Regarded historically these ancient epigraphical and antiquarian remains are of great value, for they enable us to compile a more detailed and coherent history of Chamba than of any of the Himālayan States, except Kashmīr and Nepāl, and they throw important side-lights on the history of neighbouring territories, where documentary evidence is more scanty than in Chamba, and can, therefore, be supplemented from the Chamba records. In this connection the references to Chamba in the *Rājataranginī* are specially interesting. Another circumstance which lends a special charm to the study of these ancient remains is, that in them the present is linked with the past by an unbroken tie. In Chamba, ancient traditions and institutions have survived to the present time, of which in most other parts of India, even the remembrance has long since passed away. The State is still ruled by a descendant of the royal line, some of whose members bore a conspicuous part in the civil wars of Kashmīr in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. He still resides in the ancient capital of his ancestors, and is saluted by his subjects with the classical greeting of Jai Deo. At the original capital of Brahmapura, now Brahmaur, the brazen idols still stand in the carved temples in which they were placed by Rāja Meru-Varma(n) about A.D. 700, and in the present capital *pūja* is still performed, as of yore, in the elaborate shrines erected by Rāja Sāhila-Varma(n) in the early part of the tenth century. The Rānas also—those powerful barons of the Hills whose tenure antedated even that of the Rājas—are represented by numerous families, still clinging to their ancient title and to the remnants of their former patrimony. The official, too, who presides over the fifty sub-divisions of the State, still bears a title (*chāta*—now Chār), which in Chamba has remained unchanged from remote times, though it has long since passed into oblivion in every other part of India.

One point remains to be noted in connection with these documents; they all have one feature in common. Almost without exception, they have a religious purport, which is definitely stated in the inscription itself. In the case of those recording the consecration of temples or images this is obvious. The donations of land to Brahmans and temples, recorded on copper-plates, had likewise the character of pious acts, calculated to increase the religious merit of the donor; and the same is true of the fountain slabs, erected in memory of deceased ancestors and for the sake of their bliss in the next world. The essentially religious character of the epigraphs shows at once their limitations as historical records. Practically none of these inscriptions were intended to perpetuate the remembrance of a historical event. Any historical reference in them is purely incidental and merely an episode in the eulogy devoted to the ancestor of the donor. The historically important points are omitted.

On the other hand the sacred associations attaching to all these inscriptions have, in a large degree, contributed to preserve them from wilful damage; where inscriptions have become defaced or destroyed this has been mostly due to the forces of nature. In only very few instances have such stones been appropriated to building purposes or wantonly damaged.

There are also a good many references to the State in the annals of other hill States and in the *Rājataranginī* and Muhammadan histories, which have proved of much value in fixing the chronological order of events.

Lastly, social conditions have been prevalent in the hills from remote times which invest traditionary lore with an importance and credibility which it would not otherwise possess, and much interesting information has come down through this channel.

There are no sources of information to help us to determine who were the original inhabitants of the mountain area now included in Chamba State, but common tradition affirms that they came from the plains. If one may hazard a conjecture where all is uncertain it seems not improbable that the aborigines of these hills are now represented to a large extent by the various low-caste tribes, which form a very considerable proportion of the population. We know that this is the case on the plains, and it seems not unreasonable to believe that the same is true of the hills. In Chamba State the tribes in question comprise fully one-fourth of the population. They are included under the names of Kolī, Hālī, Sipī, Chamār, Dumna, Barwāla, Megh, Darain, Rehāra, Sarāra, Lohār, Bhatwāl, Dhaugrī, and some others.¹ Though differing among themselves as regards social status, they are all looked upon as outcastes, by the high caste Hindu, who applies to them the epithet of Chanāl or Chandāl. These low caste

¹ The Megh, Dum, Chamar and other allied castes are found in the same social position in the Jammu area. In Kangra and Kulu, and as far as the Satluj, the same or similar names are used to designate the same class of people.

tribes possess no traditions as to their original home, which tends to confirm the conjecture that a long period of time must have elapsed since they first migrated to the hills. General Cunningham believed that the Western Himālaya were at one time occupied by a true Kolian group from the same race as the Kols of Central India.¹ There are still many people in the Western Hills who bear the name of Kolī; and the Hālī, Sipī, Megh and Dāgī, etc., are essentially the same people. The Dāgī of Kulū for example, are all called Kolī as an alternative name. These tribes must have been of non-Aryan origin like the other aborigines of India, but a great fusion of races took place in ancient times by intermarriage, and later by degradation from the high castes, a process which is still going on. This doubtless led in course of time to many changes in the appearance and characteristics of the people, and to these we may ascribe the fact that all now exhibit the features of the Aryan race, and use dialects of the Aryan family of languages. These low-caste tribes are employed in menial occupations, many of them being farm-servants and artisans. Some of those in Chamba State, and probably in other parts of the hills, are small farmers, and hold land either directly from the State, or from high-caste proprietors. In their subordinate position of farm servants they were usually spoken of as *kāma*, and in former times, and indeed up to the commencement of British rule, were in a state analogous to that of slavery. Even now they labour under some social restrictions, especially in the Native States; and their condition generally seems to indicate that they have long occupied a very depressed position in the social scale. There is a common saying in the hills which runs thus:—

Chanāl jetha: Rāthī kanētha.

“The Chanāl is the elder brother: the Rāthī the younger.” The meaning attached to this saying by the people is, that the high-castes are dependent on the Chanāls, just as a younger brother is on an elder one. No ceremony of any importance can take place without their presence and help. At births, marriages and deaths they are indispensable in one capacity or another. It seems improbable, however, that this was the original signification, which has become obscured through the lapse of ages. It is more likely that the saying is an unconscious expression of the general conviction that the Chanāls were the original inhabitants of the hills. The Rāthīs came at a later period; yet so long a time has passed since even they migrated to the mountains, that they are generally regarded as having been always resident there.

A new view of Aryan migration, recently suggested by Professor Rhys Davids, throws much light on the colonisation of the hills.¹

¹ There was also probably a large Dravidian element in the aboriginal population of the hills, Vedic India, pages 287-293 and the North Western Province of India by W. Croke, pages 58-93.

¹ Buddhist India, page 32.

He postulates three lines of advance, one of which was along the foot of the Himālaya from Kashmīr eastward. The Aryans, being hillmen, tended to cling to the hills, and we learn that there is clear evidence, in Sanskrit literature, of their presence in the Western Himālaya at a very early period, probably before that in which the hymns of the Rig Veda were compiled.² We may therefore assume that the oldest strata of the Aryan population of Chamba State are of very ancient origin.³

At the present time the four principal caste sub-divisions are Brahman, Rājput, Thakkur and Rāthī—of which the two latter may be regarded as one caste—and they include the great bulk of the high-caste population. It is noteworthy that, in general character and mutual relationship, they substantially represent the three sections of the ancient Aryan community, *viz.*, Brahman, Kshatriya, and Vaishya.⁴

But while the lower strata of the population in each of these castes are probably of ancient origin, it is certain that all of them have received large accessions from the plains to various periods, as the result of invasion and immigration.

As regards the Brahmans, it is probable that many of them began to find their way into the hills at an early period, as priests and religious devotees. The Gaddī Brahmans have a tradition that their ancestors came from Delhi to Brahmaur in the reign of Rāja Ajia-Varma(n) A.D. 780-800. Many of the Rājputs are probably the descendants of invaders from the plains. The Gaddī Rājputs have the same tradition as the Gaddī Brahmans as to their original home: while the Gaddī Khatris say that their ancestors fled from Lahore to escape persecution, probably at the time of the early Muhammadan invasions. Doubtless many of all castes came to the hills for the same reason during the period of Muhammadan Rule.

The Thakkur and Rāthī are almost certainly of ancient origin, and are regarded as indigenous to the hills, or indigenous to the hills, or indigenous by the half-blood with the aborigines. These castes are widely distributed throughout the Western Hills. In the Jammu area, between the Jhelum and the Rāwī, they are all classed as Thakkur: and in the Kāngra area, the same people are called Thakkur and Rāthī. They are essentially an agricultural people, resembling in many respects the Jats of the plains. In Chamba they number more than one-half of the high-caste inhabitants, and form the backbone of the population.

The Gaddīs are a separate clan. The term Gaddī is a generic name, and under it are included Brahmans, Rājputs, Khatris, Thakkurs and Rāthīs. The majority, however, are Khatris. As the custom of the Brahman and Rājput sections is to return themselves

² Vedic India, page 170.

³ Dr. Grierson has recently pointed out that the dialects of Rajputana are closely allied to those of the Himalaya. R.A.S. October, 1901, page 808.

⁴ The original meaning of Vaishya simply was "the common people."

under their caste names, it is improbable that many of these have been classed as Gaddis. The Census Returns may, therefore, be regarded as including, chiefly, the Khatri, Thakkur and Rāthī sections of the clan. The traditions as to their original home have already been referred to. They are found principally in the Brahmaur Wazārat, which is called Gadaran, but also in other parts of the State.

As regards the minor high-castes, chiefly consisting of Khatri, Kumhār, Jat, Sikh, etc., the figures for each are so small that their presence in the State is easily accounted for, and the same is true of the Muhammadan portion of the population. They must all have come from the plains probably at no very remote period.

Now the most ancient traditions current in the hills have reference to a time when the greater part of the Western Himālaya was under the rule of petty chiefs, who bore the title of Thākkur or Rāna. These chiefs owned States of very diminutive size, and, in what is now Chamba territory, each of these was called Thākkur; or *ranhu*.¹ They are said to have been constantly at war with one another, and their *ranhu* boundaries were in consequence very unsettled. As regards caste the general opinion is that the Rānas were Rājputs, and all the existing families are of this caste. In the case of the Thākkurs common opinion is not so clear, but the general impression seems to be that they belonged to the caste which is indicated by the name. Probably most of them originally were of Rāthī caste. We may suppose that, having gained an ascendancy over a small portion of territory, each of these Rāthī leaders was recognized as ruler, and assumed, or was given the title of 'Thākkur,' meaning 'Chief' or 'Lord.' The various offshoots of the ruling families of Rāthī caste would naturally seek a distinctive name for themselves, and thus the word Thakkur probably acquired the secondary meaning which it still bears, as the name of a separate caste. This caste ranks immediately beneath the Rājput, and above the Rāthī, the chief distinction being that the Rājput will take the daughter of a Thākkur in marriage, but will not give his own in return, and the same is true of the Thakkur and Rāthī. As a caste name the word is pronounced Thākkur.²

The period during which the Thākkurs and Rānas ruled in the hills is spoken of as the 'Apthakkuri' or 'Thākurian.' This Thākuran period seems to have been of very ancient origin, but when it began, and how long it lasted, are questions to which no

¹ *Gadaran* from Skr. *gadar* 'a sheep' and meaning. "Sheep country." and *gaddi* "a shepherd."

¹ Many inscriptions dating from the time of the Ranas have recently been found in Chamba. One of the earliest of these containing the word *Rajanaka*—Rana, dates from about A.D. 700.

² The original form was *Thakkura*, of which *Thakkur* is a later form. The word *Rajanaka*—Rana is not found in the classical literature of India, and seems to be a Sanskritized rather than a real Sanskrit word and the same is true of *Thakkura*—*Thakkur*.

satisfactory answers can be given. One thing is certain, that it continued in force a much longer time in some parts of the mountains than in others. In the Kulū Settlement Report, Sir J. B. Lyall points out that the traditions relating to that period are carried back to a much more remote past in the case of Kāngra than in that of Kulū, and they refer to a time which is comparatively recent as regards the Rāvi and Chandrabhāga Valleys. It is true that the Upper Rāvi Valley was conquered from the Rānas, who previously ruled there, by the founder of the Chamba State, in the middle of the sixth century A.D.; but the lower portion of the valley was not subdued till the early part of the tenth century. The Kashtwār State was founded towards the end of the tenth century, the country having been taken from the Thākkurs who previously held it. The Thākkurs of the Chandrabhāga Valley, evidently independent rulers, are referred to in the *Rājataranginī* as late as the early part of the twelfth century. The Bhadrawālī State again seems, from the *Īnsāvalī*, to have been founded about the time of Akbar the Great, and there, too, the Rānas are said to have been in power previous to this. A still more striking instance is that of Pādar in the Chandrabhāga Valley. There the Rānas unquestionably ruled the country until subdued by Rāja Chatar Singh of Chamba, at a date subsequent to A.D. 1664. The descendants of several of them are still in existence, and are now reduced to the position of common zamindars, but the traditions regarding them are so clear and definite that there can be no doubt as to their authenticity. In Pāngī the traditions of a Thākkurain period refer to a time more remote than in the case of Pādar, due to the fact that it was subjected to Chamba at an earlier date. There also, however, several of the old families still exist as common farmers.¹ In Lahul the Thākkurs are in possession to the present day of most of the territory ruled by their ancestors. Indeed, all through the hills traces are still to be found of the older order of things, and local tradition can often point to the sites of the Rānas' forts² or recall stories of their exploits, and even define the boundaries of their territories. In the Chamba State there are several cases in which their descendants retain possession to this day of the whole, or a part of the old family domain, and still bear the old family title; while many more who have sunk to the position

¹ A Rana and a Thakkur are still resident in Kilar, and on the first day of the annual *mela* in October, they are escorted in state from their homes to the place of meeting; the Local State officials even sometimes supporting them on the right and left. In Kashtwar the ancient rulers were called *Rotar* probably from *Ranautra*.

² The remains of the Ranas' fort are still to be seen on the Bannu Hill near Chamba; and the following popular rhyme has handed down the name of one of them to our own day:—"Rahla Rana, Bahla Rani; Bannu kot, Sarol pani; Badram janjan khani."

"Rahla Rana and Bahla Rani had their fort on Bannu Hill, their water from Sarol (a cool spring near Chamba), and their rice from Badram (a place near Chamba)."

of common cultivator are spoken of, and addressed as Rāna. In the Kulū Settlement Report Sir J. B. Lyall says: "Many of the existing kothis and tappas are said to have possessed their present limits from the day when each of them formed the domain of a Thākkur." The same is probably true as regards some of the *parganas* of Chamba State, though, judging from common tradition, the country would seem to have been more minutely subdivided than was the case in Kulū. In former times, however, these *parganas* were more numerous than at present and may then have represented, to a greater extent than they do now, the ancient limits of the old *raihus*. Some of the State kothis are said to stand on the very sites formerly occupied by the Rānas' forts, and in several instances the ancient buildings themselves are still in use.

As regards their relation to the more powerful States in their vicinity, Sir J. B. Lyall suggests that the small States of the Thakurain period can seldom have been entirely independent. He says: "Without a lord-paramount, and with no bond of confederacy, such diminutive States could never have existed side by side for any length of time. It is pretty certain, therefore, that with short intervals of complete independence in periods of confusion, they must have been more or less subject and tributary to some superior power." This remark was made with reference to the States of the Kulū area, but it is probably true of the whole of the Western Hills. General Cunningham was of opinion that in early times the greater part of the tract now comprised in the Chamba State, as far east as the Rāvī and Dhaulā Dhār, was under the control of Kashmir. This would appear to have been the case in the seventh century, at the time of the visit of Huen Tshang, and it was so again in the ninth century, when, by the conquest of Trigarta, the sovereign power of Kashmir was extended to the Satluj. Chamba was again conquered by Kashmir about A.D. 1050-60 and seems to have remained more or less dependent on that kingdom until the early part of the twelfth century, when the confusion resulting from internal dissension, and the Muhammadan invasions, enabled it to assert its independence. We may, therefore, conclude that, from very early times, Kashmir claimed suzerain power over the greater part of the territory now embraced in Chamba State.

The Thākurain period was followed by the rise of numerous Rājput principalities which held sway throughout the Western Hills up to comparatively recent times, and some of which still remain.¹ These were all founded by Rājput leaders—each probably with a small band of followers—who either came directly from the Plains, or were scions of one or other of the ruling families who had previously established themselves in the Hills. By them the Rānas¹ and Thākkurs were either expelled, or reduced to the position of tribu-

² In the Simla Hill States, some of which are almost as diminutive as an ancient *raihū*, most of the rulers still bear the old title of Rana or Thakkur, and collectively these States are called the Thakurain.

taries or subjects.¹

Researches in Chamba have brought to light the interesting fact that the Rānas did not immediately sink into obscurity after their final subjection, but continued for a long period to hold influential positions in the State. They are mentioned in one of the early copper-plate title-deeds under the name of 'Rājānaka,' and the place in order assigned them,—immediately after the Rāja,—seems to indicate that they were prominent and honourable members of the community. They seem also to have filled various offices in the State administration. There are also traditions pointing to the fact that they did not always yield a willing obedience to the new rulers and that rebellion was not unknown among them. And such outbreaks did not occur only in Chamba, for we learn from the annals of Bhadrawāh and Kashtwār, that, in both of these States the old rulers combined against their new masters, and made a determined effort to drive them out. In each case this happened a long period posterior to the founding of the State.

According to General Cunningham, the oldest classification of the Rajput principalities of the Western Himālaya, between the Satluj and the Indus, divided them into three groups, each of which was named after the State which held the position of head of the confederation. These were Kashmīr, Durgara or Dugar, and Trigarta. There are indications that this division into three groups was in existence from a period anterior to the seventh century, and Chamba was in early times associated with the first, or Kashmīr, group of States. A classification of much later date divided the alpine Panjab, between the Satluj and the Indus, into 22 Hindu and 22 Muhammadan Chiefships¹—the former being to the east and the latter to the west of the Chenab.² Again the 22 Hindu States between the Satluj and the Chenāb were arranged in two groups or circles, named the Jālandhar or Kangra Circle, and the Dugar or Jammu Circle, one being to the east, and the other to the west of the Rāvī. Each of these circles was popularly regarded as containing eleven States, Kāngra and Jammu being recognized as the respective heads. Chamba was chiefly associated with the Kāngra Circle, but owing to the fact that the Rāvī divides the State into two parts, it was included in both groups.³

The royal clan in each of these States had a special designation based on the custom which obtained in almost all the Rajput States in the hills, in accordance with which the ruling line took its distinctive name from that of the country over which it ruled. The clan name of the Chamba royal family is Chambiāl or Chamiāl.

¹ There are still twenty or thirty Rana families in Chamba State.

² Excepting Chamba, Mandi and Suket, they were all overthrown during Sikh rule—between A.D. 1811 and 1841. All the States of the Dugar Circle, except Chamba, and all the Muhammadan States between the Chenab and Jhelum are now merged in Jammu.

³ Anc. Geo. of India, p. 130.

³ Vide Kangra Settlement Report, p. 6.

The original suffix in the Chamba royal family, was 'Varma(n)', a cognomen extensively used in ancient times. It was used in the reigning families of Nepāl, Kamrūp or Assam, and Kanauj in the seventh and eighth centuries; in the Rathor family before it acquired Kanauj, and by the Chandēl Rājas of Bandēlkhand. Though probably not adopted as a dynastic surname in any of these families, its use by individual chiefs proves that it was widely known. There was also an entire Varma(n) dynasty in Kashmīr, from A.D. 854 to A.D. 939; and the cognomen is still in use in the royal houses of Travancore and Cochin. The Chamba Rājas continued to bear it till the end of the sixteenth century, after which it was gradually displaced by "-Singh," which was then coming into general use among Rājputs, but the older title is still employed in all religious ceremonies.

The title 'Deva' is also found after each Rāja's name in the inscriptions and copper-plates. This too was a royal designation, as we learn from Sanskrit literature, and was affixed to the names of all kings and queens in its masculine or feminine form, just as Rex and Regina are in our own Royal Family. Hence arose the Rājput salutation Jaideya—Jaidevāh, which originally was accorded only to Rājputs of royal rank. The original form in Sanskrit was *Jayatu Devah*, 'May the King be victorious.'

In former times, as we learn from the copper-plates, an heir-apparent in Chamba bore the title of 'Yuvarāja.' When it was disused is not known, but it is found in plates issued towards the end of the sixteenth century. At the present time an heir-apparent, if a son of the ruling chief, has the distinctive title of 'Tikka,' while younger sons are named Duthain, Tirthain, Chauthain, etc. These titles are modern, and date only from the sixteenth century. The title 'Tikka' occurs on a plate, dated A.D. 1579.

The title 'Mian' was originally borne only by the scions of the royal houses of the Kāngra and Dugar Circles, and is said to have been given them by one of the Mughal Emperors, probably Jahāngīr, but its precise origin is unknown.¹ It occurs as "Mie" on a copper-plate, dated in A.D. 1623. A.D. 1613, as one of the titles of Janārdan, son and heir-apparent of Rāja Balabhadra, younger sons of a ruling chief, other than the Tikka, and also brothers, are addressed as 'Mian Sahib.'

It is difficult to determine with certainty the exact date at which the Chamba State was founded, but it seems probable that this event took place about the middle of the sixth century, A.D. The following are the reasons on which this conclusion is based. There are, as has already been said, several references to Chamba—or Chāmpa as the place was then named—in the *Rājataranginī*, and the earliest of these is interesting and valuable as furnishing a fixed and fairly reliable date from which to begin our chronological in-

¹ *Mian* probably means 'Prince.'

quiry. We read that Ananta-Deva, Rāja of Kashmīr, who reigned from A.D. 1028 to A.D. 1063, invaded Chamba; uprooted the ruling Rāja named Sāla, and set up another in his place. No reference to this invasion is to be found to the State annals, and there is only one Rāja mentioned in the *ṛansāvalī*, whose name bears any resemblance to that in the *Rājataranginī*. This is the name of Sāla or Sāhila-Varma(n) who was the founder of the present capital. It was for some time supposed that this was the Rāja referred to, and the absence of any allusion to the invasion in the Chronicle left the matter more or less in doubt, until the discovery of three copper-plate title-deeds, which practically set the question at rest. All of these title-deeds make mention of a Rāja Sālāvāhana-Varma(n), whose name is entirely omitted from the *ṛansāvalī*, as also that of his elder son, Soma-Varma(n). Asata-Varma(n), his younger son, is alone mentioned. It is manifest that Sālāvāhana must be the Rāja referred to as having been deposed by Ananta-Deva. That both he and his son, Soma-Varma(n) actually reigned is clear from the tenor of the inscriptions on the copper-plates. Unfortunately they have no date. We know, however, that Ananta-Deva began his reign as a child in A.D. 1028, and may therefore assume that his conquest of Chamba cannot have taken place before A.D. 1050. As he abdicated in favour of his son in 1063, the invasion must have occurred previous to this; and such is implied in the narrative. The earliest of the copper-plates in question purports to have been granted by Soma-Varma(n), son of Sālāvāhana-Varma(n), in the seventh year of his reign, in the month of Bhādon, and on the occasion of a solar eclipse. There was a solar eclipse in Bhādon¹ A.D. 1066, and though the day does not exactly correspond with that on the plate, it is near enough to raise a strong probability that this is the eclipse referred to. In ancient times it was customary to date such plates on the very day of the eclipse, as it was considered to add to the merit of the gift, but there were doubtless exceptions to the rule, and this may have been one of them. It is very interesting to note that the signature of Sālāvāhana himself appears on the plate in a somewhat defaced but quite legible form, and from this we may conclude that it had been his intention to make the grant himself, and that he was prevented from doing so by his deposition and probable death. The son was thus only carrying out his father's wish.

Now if we count back seven years from A.D. 1066, we get A.D. 1059-60 as the probable date of the invasion of Ananta-Deva, and of Soma-Varma(n); accession, and in any case that invasion cannot have been later than A.D. 1060, nor much earlier than A.D. 1050. From

¹ Solar eclipse took place in the month of Bhādon of the years 1047—1056 and 1066, but we are justified in restricting the alternative dates to 1056 and 1066, the latter being regarded as the more probable date of the eclipse referred to.

this date to A.D. 1870, the year in which Rāja Śrī-Singh died, there were 37 Rājas in consecutive order, during a period of 810-20 years, giving an average reign of 22 years. Again from A.D. 1589 to A.D. 1870—a period for which there are authentic and reliable data, there were 11 Rājas in 281 years, with an average reign of 25 years. General Cunningham allows 25 years to each reign, but this seems excessive; an average of 20 years would appear to be safer. Now there were, according to the *vansavali*, 26 Rājas from Maru, the founder of the State, to Śālavāhana, whose reign came to an end not later than A.D. 1060. Allowing an average reign of 20 years we arrive at A.D. 540-50 as the approximate date for the founding of the State, which is thus proved to be one of the most ancient native principalities in India. The original capital, as we know, was at Brahmaur in the Upper Rāvi Valley, where numerous traditions are still current concerning many of the ancient Rājas, and there are also archaeological and epigraphical remains, which afford a remarkable corroboration of the conclusion which has been reached, as regards the antiquity of the State. There are three inscriptions on brass in Brahmaur, and one in Chatrārī, a village half-way between Brahmour and Chamba. Of these one is on the pedestal of a brazen bull of life size, standing in front of the temple of Mani-Mahesa, the erection of which is traditionally ascribed to Meru-Varma(n) who was the eighth Rāja in succession from Maru. The two other inscriptions at Brahmour are on the pedestals of the idols Lakshana Devī, and Ganesa, and that at Chatrārī is similarly on the pedestal of the image of Saktī Devī; and the erection of these idols is traditionally attributed to the same Rāja. The inscriptions themselves which have now been translated confirm these popular traditions. The name of Meru-Varma(n) is found on all of them, and it is stated that the idols were dedicated by his order. Even more interesting is the fact that in two of these inscriptions—those of Lakshana Devī, and Ganesa—the Rāja traces back his own ancestry far three generations, and mentions the names of his father, Divākara Varma(n), his grandfather, Bala-Varma(n); and his great-grandfather, Aditya-Varma(n).¹ Two of these names are found in the *vansavali* in a modified form, which leaves no doubt as to their identity with the names in the inscriptions. The third—that of Bala-Varma(n)—seems to have been omitted at a very early period, probably in the process of copying. The name of Aditya-Varma(n) is found as Adi-Varma(n) in the *vansavali*, while that of Divākara-Varma(n) occurs as Devā-Varma(n), both in the *vansavali* and in the Chhatrārī inscription. There is unfortunately no date on any of these inscriptions, but from a careful examination of the characters in which they are written, they cannot be assigned to a later period than the early part of the eighth century, and they probably date from the very beginning of that century. The name of Meru-

¹ He also mentions Moshuna or Mushuna, the progenitor of his race.

Varma(n) is evidently out of its proper place in the vansavali, as it stands fifth in succession after Divākara-Varma(n), who was his father. Correcting the vansavali by the inscriptions, which are more reliable, we find that Meru-Varra(n) reigned from A.D. 680 to A.D. 700, or a little later. A further proof that these inscriptions are contemporaneous is afforded by the fact that all of them were executed by the same workman, whose name was Gugga, as shown on the inscriptions themselves. This also is in agreement with common tradition, by which the name of Gugga has been handed down to the present day.

With all these data at our disposal it becomes a comparatively easy matter to fix an approximate date for the founding of the present capital. *Vansāvalī* is very explicit as to the founder, and here again common tradition is in full accord. His name was Sāhila-Varma(n), and he was the 20th Rāja in succession from Maru, the founder of the State. Sālavāhana-Varma(n) whose reign came to an end not later than A.D. 1060, was the sixth Rāja after Sāhila-Varma(n) and by deducting six reigns, or 120 years, from A.D. 1060, we find that Sāhila-Varma(n) must have ruled from about A.D. 920 to A.D. 940. His reign was probably along one, and it may have been in the earlier part of it, say A.D. 930, that the town of Chamba was founded, and the seat of government transferred thither from Brahmaur. From that time onward to the present day there is an almost unbroken chain of historical evidence furnished partly by the Chronicle, which is full and clear, and still more by a series of copper-plate title-deeds—about one hundred and fifty in number.¹ The oldest of these yet discovered bears the name of Yūgākar-Varma(n), the son and successor of Sāhila-Varma(n). The date on this plate is a year of his reign, and the same is true of the plates of Vidagdha-Varma(n), his son, and of Soma-Varma(n) and Asata-Varma(n), sons of the deposed Rāja Sālavāhana-Varma(n), who followed their father in succession. Here, however, the *Rājataranginī* again comes to our aid, and from it we learn that Asata-Varma(n) visited Kashmīr, on which Chamba was then dependent, in A.D. 1087-8; his son, Jāsata-Varma(n) in A.D. 1101; and his grandson Udaya-Varma(n) A.D. 1122. Udaya-Varma(n) name is probably mis-placed in the *vansāvalī*, and a correction has to be made in accordance with the *Rājataranginī*; otherwise these dates agree with the Chronicle.

It is unnecessary to pursue this subject further, except to remark that an examination of the records of other existing and extinct states would doubtless add much to our knowledge of Chamba history, as well as throw light on the general course of events in the Western

¹ From ancient times it seems to have been the custom for every Chamba Chief, on his accession, to make a grant of land to a Brahman or a temple. As many as 42 of these plates are known to have been given in the course of one reign.

Himālaya in former times.

The Rājas of Chamba belong to the Surajvansī line of Rājputs; and their *vansāvalī* begins from Vishnu or Narāyana.¹ Rāma, the hero of the Ramāyana, is sixty-third in the order of descent, which is continued through Kusa, the third son of Rāma. The original home of the family is said to have been in Avodhya, but they removed at a very early period to the Upper Ganges Valley, where they settled in Kālapa. The historical portion of the *vansāvalī* commences with the name of Maru who was then the head of the family, and contains sixty-seven names including that of the present ruling Chief.

Maru is said to have been at first a religious devotee whose life was given up to *tapas* or self-mortification. He afterwards married, and three sons were born to him. When they reached manhood he bestowed a kingdom on each of them. Leaving the eldest in the ancestral home, he traversed the Panjāb with the other two, and settled one of them in the mountains near Kashnūr. Accompanied by Jaistambh, the youngest, he then penetrated to the Upper Rāvi Valley through the outer hills, and having conquered that territory from the petty Rānas who held it, he founded the town of Brahmapura¹ and made it the capital of a new State. This event is believed to have taken place about the middle of the sixth century, A.D.

The original State was of very small extent, and in all likelihood comprised, at the most, only the present Brahmaur Wazārat, *i.e.*, the valley of the Rāvi from below Bara Bangāhal, with its tributaries the Budhil and the Tundahen, as far down as Chhatrārī.

It would appear that Maru's rule was not a long one, for the Chronicle says that, having founded the States, he made it over to his son, and returned to Kālapa, where he again became a *sādhu*.

After Maru several Rājas ruled in succession, but only their names are known. They were.—*Jaistambh*, *Jalstambh*, and *Mahastambh*.

Aditya-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 620).—The name of this Rāja appears as *Adi-Varma(n)* in the *vansāvalī* and is of very special interest, for it is twice mentioned in the Brahmaur inscriptions, in which he is referred to as the great-grandfather of *Meru-Varma(n)*, by whose orders they were engraved; and he was the first of the Chamba line to assume the suffix of 'Varma(n).'²

¹ The people believe that the place was named after Brahmani Devi, the patron goddess of the Budhil Valley, whose shrine is situated a little way above the town. The name was in use, however, at a still earlier period, for the more ancient kingdom of Brahmapura, now British Garhwal and Kumaon. The present form of the word is Brahmaur.

² The Sanskrit word, 'Varma(n),' means "armour, coat of mail; shelter, protection" and as the second member of a compound noun it means "protected by." It was anciently used in Rajput names; as *Sarma(n)* was in those of Brahmins.

There are several references to Chamba in the Kulū Chronicle³ and the earliest of these probably refers to Aditya Varma(n). It is to the effect that Brahmo Pāl, Rāja of Kulū, left no legitimate sons, and the Rājas of Chamba (Brahmapura), Ladākh, Sukēt, Bushahar, Kāngra, and Bangūhal made one Ganesh Pāl his heir. This note is interesting as showing that at that early period the Brahmapura State was powerful enough to exert some influence in their internal affairs.

Bala-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 640).—The name of this Rāja is not found in the *ṛansāvalī*; having been omitted probably by a clerical error. It occurs, however, in two of the Brahmapura inscriptions, in which Bala-Varma(n) is called the grandfather of Meru-Varma(n).

Divākara-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 660).—In the Brahmapura inscriptions this Rāja's name is found in its full form; but in the *ṛansāvalī*, and the Chhatrārī inscription, it occurs as Devā-Varma(n).

Meru-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 680).—As the name of this chief stands fifth in the *ṛansāvalī*, after that of the previous Rāja who was his father, it is clearly out of its proper place. The error must have crept in at an early period, for all the existing copies of the *ṛansāvalī* are alike.

Meru-Varma(n) seems to have been one of the most notable of the early Brahmapura rulers. He was probably the first to extend the State boundaries by conquest, for in the Chhatrārī inscription it is recorded, that he dedicated the idol of Saktī Devī in gratitude for help against his enemies, whom he had attacked in their strongholds and overcome. An inscribed stone has recently been found at Gun which was erected by a *sāmanta* or feudatory of Meru-Varma(n), probably a Rāna, named Ashādba. From this it is clear that Meru-Varma(n)'s rule extended down the Rāvi Valley almost as far as the present capital. There is also a note in the Kulū Chronicle which almost certainly refers to him. In the reign of Srī Dateshawar Pāl, Rāja of Kulū, there was war with Chamba (Brahmapura) in which the Kulū Chief was killed by Amar, Rāja of Chamba. There is no such name on the Chamba roll; but it seems not improbable that Meru-Varma(n) is the Rāja referred to. Assuming this to be correct, it would appear that under Meru-Varma(n) the Brahmapura State asserted its power, and carried its arms successfully into one at least of the neighbouring principalities. This is confirmed by the further note in the Kulū annals that Amar Pāl, Rāja of that State, while defending his country from another inroad of the Brahmapura Chief, was slain with all his sons, except one. This son, Sītal Pāl, was an exile for life, and he and five of his descendants never reigned, from which it would seem that Kulū remained subject to Brahmapura for a considerable period.¹

³ Vide "*Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*" by Captain Harcourt.

Note, A cadet of the Chamba royal family founded the Bindralta State, now called Ramnagar situated to the north-east of Jammu.

¹ Vide "*Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*," pages 113-14.

But Meru-Varma(n) was not only a brave and warlike leader, he was also a great builder, and there are still in existence in Brahmaur many interesting remains, some of which are known to date from his time. They prove that even at that early period of its history the State possessed a considerable measure of wealth and material resources. The remains consist chiefly of temples, in a remarkably good state of preservation in spite of their long exposure to the weather. Their names are Mani-Mahesa Laksana Devī, Ganesa and Nārsingh.² In front of the Mani-Mahesa temple is a brazen bull of life size, on the pedestal of which is a long inscription. This and the other two inscriptions, in the temples of Laksana Devī and Ganesa, distinctly ascribe the dedication of all the idols named, except that of Nārsingh, and also of the brazen bull, to Meru-Varma(n). Tradition affirms that the Surajmukha Shrine was also built by him, and in accordance with ancient custom, a Chamba Rāja, when visiting Brahmaur, must pay his devotions at this temple before proceeding to his camp. The image of Sakti Devī at Chhatrārī, with its inscription, has already been referred to as dating from the reign of Meru-Varma(n). Lands are said to have been assigned for the support of these temples, but no title-deeds have yet been found of an earlier date than the tenth century.

Meru-Varma(n) was followed by several Rājas, of whom we know nothing but the names. These were;—*Mandār-Varma(n)* : *Kantār-Varma(n)* : *Praṇalbh-Varma(n)*.

Ajia-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 760).—The Gaddī Brahmans and Rājputs have a tradition that they came to Brahmaur from Delhi in the reign of this Rāja. It is also on record that when his son grew up to manhood Ajia-Varma(n) initiated him into the art of government, and then installed him as Rāja. He thereafter retired to the junction of the Rāvī and Budhil rivers near Ulānsa, where he spent the rest of his life in the worship of Siva; and is said to have been translated to heaven.

Suzarn-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 780).

Lakshmi-Varma(n)—(c.O.D. 800).—This Rāja had not been long in power when the country was visited by an epidemic of a virulent and fatal character, resembling cholera or plague. Large numbers fell victims to the disease, and the State was in a measure depopulated. Taking advantage of the desolation which prevailed, a people, bearing the name of 'Kīra' in the Chronicle, invaded Brahmaura, and, having killed the Rāja, took possession of the territory. It is uncertain who the Kīra were. They are referred to in the *Brihat Samhita* in association with Kashmiris, but in such a manner as to show that the two nations were distinct from each other. Dr. Stein

² While the shrines of Lakshana Devi and Ganesa at Brahmaur and of Sakti Devi at Chhatrari, almost certainly date from the time of Meru-Varma(n) the present temple of Mani-Mahesa is probably of later date; the original temple, however, was erected by Meru-Varma(n) as proved by the inscription on the bull.

is of opinion that they occupied the mountains north-east of Kashmīr and they may therefore have been Tibetans, or Yārkanḍis, as is the belief in Chamba. They also held Baijnāth in the Kāngra Valley, which was anciently called Kīragrāma.

Kulū had probably remained under the sway of Brahmapura from the time of Meru-Varma(n); but it recovered its independence on the death of Lakshmi-Varma(n), for the Kulū Chronicle states that its Rāja obtained help from Bushahar and expelled the Chamba (Brahmapura) troops.

Mushan-Varma(n)—(c. A.D. 820).—Lakshmi-Varma(n) left no son, but his rānī was enceinte at the time of his death, and an interesting legend has come down to us regarding the birth of her child. On the defeat and death of the Rāja, the Wazīr and parohit, or family priest, had the rānī put into a pālki, and carried off towards Kāngra. On reaching the village of Gāroh, a little beyond Deoli, in the Trēhita *ilāqa* of the Upper Rāvī Valley, she felt the pains of labour coming on, and desiring the bearers to put down the pālki, went into a cave by the wayside, and there her son was born. Thinking it better to leave the infant to perish than run the risk of his capture by their enemies who were in pursuit, she left him in the cave and returning to the pālki resumed her journey. Suspicion was, however, aroused and on being closely questioned, the rānī confessed that she had given birth to a son, and left him in the cave. The Wazīr and parohit at once went back, and found the young prince, with a number of mice surrounding and keeping guard over him; and from this circumstance he was named Mushan-Varma(n).¹ The villagers still shew the stone on which he is said to have been laid. Having recovered the child the party proceeded on their journey to Kāngra. There the rānī took up her residence in the house of a Brahman whom she made her guru; and remained eight or nine years under his protection, without disclosing her identity. One day the boy happened to tread on some flour sprinkled on the floor, and the Brahman, on seeing his footprint, recognized it to be that of a royal person, and the mother being questioned made known her relationship to the Brahmapura royal family. The Brahman thereupon conducted her and the child to the Rāja of Sukēt,² who received them kindly, and had Mushan-Varma(n) provided for, and carefully educated. He grew up intelligent and brave, and received the Rāja's daughter in marriage, and with her as dowry a *jāgīr* in the *pargana* of Pāngua, and other large presents, Mushan-Varma(n)

¹ The name of Mausikanos of Alexander's historians, who ruled in Sindh, is derived by Lassen from the Sanskrit Maushika or mouse. See McCrindle's "Invasion of India by Alexander the Great."

² His name is given as Parbogh, but there is no such name in the genealogical roll of Suket.

³ The reference is to the *padami* or *Urdh Regh*—the mark of high descent—a line like the "line of life" on the hand, running along the sole of the foot from the toe to the heel.

was also furnished with an army, and returning to Brahmapura he drove out the invaders and recovered his kingdom.

Nothing is on record about him after his return, but the killing of mice is said to have been prohibited by him on account of the services rendered by these animals in his infancy. This custom still obtains in the Chamba royal family and a mouse caught in the palace is never killed.

After Mushan-Varma(n) the following Rājas ruled in succession, but nothing is known regarding any of them;—*Hans-I'arma(n)* *Sān-I'arma(n)* : *Sen-I'arma(n)* : *Sajjan-I'arma(n)*.

Sāhila-I'arma(n)—(c.A.D. 920).—This Rāja holds a very conspicuous place in the State annals, for it was he who conquered the lower Rāvī Valley, and transferred the seat of government from Brahmapura to the new capital, which he had founded at Chamba. It was probably in the beginning of his reign that another invasion of Kulū took place. The war lasted twelve years, and then a peace was patched up. The Kulū people invited the Brahmapura soldiers to a feast which was held at night, and in the darkness the latter were inveigled down to the banks of the Beās near Rahla, where they fell over the precipices and were killed.

Shortly after Sāhila-Varma(n)'s accession Brahmapura was visited by 84 *yogis*, who were greatly pleased with the Rāja's piety and hospitality; and, as he had no heir, they promised him ten sons. They were invited to remain in Brahmapura till the prediction was fulfilled, and in due course ten sons were born, and also a daughter, named Champavatī.

Meanwhile Sāhila-Varma(n) had been engaged in extending his rule, and had brought under his sway all the petty rānas who still held the lower portion of the Rāvī Valley. On this expedition he was accompanied by Charpatnāth, one of the *yogis* and also by his queen and daughter. Previous to its occupation by Sāhila-Varma(n) the plateau on which the town of Chamba stands was within the domain of a rāna, who had conveyed it in *sāsan* or gift to a family of Kanwān Brahmans. Champavatī, the Rāja's daughter, took a great liking to the place, and asked her father to found a town and make it his capital. Sāhila-Varma(n) was desirous of acceding to her wish, but all the land fit for building purposes had passed into the hands of the Brahmans, and he was unwilling to dispossess them. At length an arrangement was effected, whereby in recognition of their proprietary rights, eight chaklis—Chamba copper coins—were promised in perpetuity on the occasion of every marriage in the town. The land was then given up, and the above condition has been observed ever since. The Rāja then founded the town, and named it Champa after his daughter.¹

¹This is the version in the Chronicle, but two other suppositions are possible. The place may have received its name from the Champa tree, which grows in the neighbourhood and even in the town itself, on it may have been

An interesting and pathetic legend has come down to us in connection with the settlement of the new capital. There was no good and convenient water supply, and the Rāja was anxious to meet this need. He therefore had a water-course made from the Sarota stream round the shoulder of the Shāh Madār Hill, behind the town. For some reason the water refused to enter the channel prepared for it, and in accordance with the superstitious notions of the time, this was ascribed to supernatural causes. The spirit of the stream must be propitiated, and the Brahmans, on being consulted replied that the victim must be either the rānī or her son. Another tradition runs that the Rāja himself had a dream in which he was directed to offer up his son, whereupon the rānī pleaded to be accepted as a substitute. The Rāja was unwilling to accede to her wish, and wanted to offer some one else, but she insisted that if there must be a sacrifice she should be the victim. Her wish prevailed, and, accompanied by her maidens, and bare-headed as for *sat*, she was carried up the hill to the spot near the village of Balota, where the water-course leaves the main stream. There a grave was dug and she was buried alive. The legend goes on to say that when the grave was filled in the water began to flow and has ever since flowed abundantly.

Yugākar, the son and successor of Sāhila-Varma(n) mentions his mother's name in the only copper-plate of his reign which has been found. It was Nenna Devī, and she may possibly have been the rānī referred to. In memory of her devotion a small shrine was afterwards erected by her husband on the spot, at the top of the present flight of steps, where she is said to have sat down to rest. A *mela* was also appointed to be held yearly from the 15th of Chait to the 1st of Baisākh. It is called the Suhi *mela*, and is attended only by women and children, of all castes who, in their gayest attire, climb the steps to the shrine, and there sing the rānī's praises and present their floral offerings. They are entertained at the Rāja's expense on this occasion. The steps are not ancient, having been constructed by Rānī Sārda, queen of Rāja Ajit-singh. A.D. 1794-1808.

There can be little doubt that the legend is founded on fact, such a sacrifice was quite in keeping with the spirit of the times, and it is noteworthy that the *mela* has been held from time immemorial, affording strong proof of the truth of the story as related. It is significant, too, that, although a death in the royal family during any other *mela* necessitates its immediate suspension, this does not apply in the case of the Suhi *mela* which is never interrupted.

Another legend has also been handed down by tradition in connection with the founding of the Champavati or Chamasnī Temple, probably the first erected by Sāhila-Varma(n) in Chamba. His daughter, Champavati, was of a religious disposition, and used to

named after the more ancient Champa, which stood near the modern Bhagalpur in Bengal. It is also possible that the name was already in use in the time of the ranas.

visit the place of a *sādhū* for conversation. Suspicion was instilled into her father's mind and he followed her on one occasion with a drawn sword in his hand, only however to find that the house was empty. As he entered, a voice came from the stillness upbraiding him for his suspicions, and telling him that his child had been taken from him as a punishment. He was further commanded to erect a temple to her on the spot where he stood, to atone for his sin, and avert calamity from his house. The temple was accordingly built, and named after his daughter, who is there worshipped as a goddess. It is regarded as the family temple of the Chamba Rājas, and a *mela* has been held in connection with it from time immemorial, from the 1st to the 21st Baisākh. Until recent years it was customary for the ruling Chief to make a daily visit during the *mela* to certain temples in fixed rotation, always starting from and returning to that of Champavatī, but this custom has now fallen more or less into disuse. Sāhila-Varma(n) also erected several other temples in Chamba, which are still in existence. The earliest of these are believed to have been the Chandragupta and Kāmeshwara Temples, built for two idols of Śiva which the Rāja took out of the Sāl stream near its junction with the Rāvi. This he did while bathing, under the guidance of Charpatnāth.

Of the other temples erected by Sāhila-Varma(n) the principal one is that of Lakshmī-Narāyana, or Vishnu, in association with which a curious legend has been preserved. Being desirous of raising a temple to Vishnu, the Rāja sent nine of his sons to the marble quarries in the Vindhya Mountains, to bring a block of marble for an image. They were successful in this mission, but on beginning to cut the slab it was found to contain a frog. As this was considered to render it unsuitable for the primary purpose for which it was intended, this slab was used in making some smaller images. These were the Trimukha, or three faced image of Śiva; a small image of Ganpat now in the Chandragupta Temple; and also that of a small goddess, possibly Lakshmī, wife of Vishnu. The young princes were sent to bring another block, but were all killed by robber on their way back. On this news reaching Chamba, Sāhila-Varma(n) sent his eldest son, Yugākar, who was also attacked, but receiving help from some Sanyāsi gosains, he destroyed the robbers, and returned with a slab, from which the image of Vishnu was made, and set up in the temple prepared for it. Sāhila-Varma(n) is also said to have built the Chandrasekhara Temple at Saro, for an idol found in the Sāl stream near that place.¹

When all the temples were finished, lands were assigned for their support; but no copper-plates of Sāhila-Varma(n)'s time have yet been found.

¹ Recent research has shown that the original temple of Chandrasekhara was erected about the time of Sahila-Varma(n) by a local chief, probably a rana, named Satyaki.

The original palace at Chamba must also have been erected by Sāhila-Varma(n), and it doubtless occupied the same site as the present building.

In all matters connected with the settlement of the new capital the Rāja was guided by the advice of the *yogī* Charpatnāth; and in recognition of this a shrine was afterwards erected to him near the Lakshmī-Narāyana Temple, where *pūja* is done morning and evening. This shrine is ascribed to Sāhila-Varma(n) but it probably dates from a later period.

The only coin special to Chamba is the *chaklī*, five of which make an anna, and it has been in use, in all likelihood, from ancient times. On it Sāhila-Varma(n) caused to be struck a pierced ear, the symbol of a *yogī*, in honour of Charpatnāth, and this has been continued down to the present day. The later Rājas added the Vishnu-pad, or feet of Vishnu on their coins. There is no tradition of a silver coinage ever having been current.

Sāhila-Varma(n) stands out as the most conspicuous personality on the long roll of the Chamba Chiefs: and his name is a household word throughout the State. Though his son, Yugākar, makes no special reference to him in the copper-plate of his reign, there are reasons for believing that his martial qualities were recognized far beyond the bounds of the State, and that his conquests were not confined to the Rāvi Valley. Two copper-plates have come to light in which some of the events of his reign are alluded to; and after making due allowance for hyperbole and exaggeration, it seems probable that the references are founded on fact. The first of these plates was granted by Soma-Varma(n), and the second by Soma and Asata, sons of Sālavāhana-Varma(n), they date from A.D. 1056-66, *i.e.*, about 120 years after Sāhila-Varma(n)'s death, when his name and fame would still be fresh in the memory of the people; and deserve mention in this history. After the customary introduction it runs as follows:—

“From his residence at the glorious Champaka, the highly devout king (Soma-Varma(n), an ornament of the spotless house of Sāhila-Deva, who (Sāhila) was a fresh rain-cloud to extinguish in a moment the mighty blazing fire of the Kira forces; fanned as by the wind by the Lord of Durgara, assisted by the Saunatikā; whose army was manifestly crushed by the fearful frown on his brow; whose alliance was humbly sought by the ruler of Trigarta, subdued by force; who was asked the favour of his bestowing royalty in return for services, by his kinsman the Lord of Kulūta, anxious to render him homage; who by the weight of battle had broken, like a wide-spreading tree the large force of the Turushka on whom wounds had been inflicted, who bore the fortunate name of Karivarsa (elephant rain) on account of the continuous and stable generation of his posterity, joyfully granted by the Lord Bhaskara (the Sun-god), whose mind was made fully contented with gladness by the gift of a multitude of elephants whose flat

cheeks were covered with a swarm of bees, attracted by the scent of the rut-secretion, and which were bestowed in Kurukshetra at the time of an eclipse; who has made the circuit of the seven worlds fragrant by his fame, painted with the inkbrushes, which were the mouths of all the princes assembled on that occasion; who by his unequalled kindness and compassion, combined with unsurpassed bravery, generosity, firmness, and unfathomable profoundness has impaired the fame of heroes like the son of Jamadagni (Parasurāma), Sibi, Karna, Yudhishtira; whose wide-spread greatness, brilliant with matchless and universal effulgence, was renowned like that of Sudrakasvāmīdeva, by looking upon whose lovely presence the eyes of the world have been made fruitful; who by his fury in setting in array a thousand battles, acquired such names as Sāhasānka (marked by rashness) Nissankamalla (dauntless wrestler), and Matamata Sinha (roaring lion).¹

With one exception all the names in the quotation are fairly well known, and the references are of great historical interest. As regards the Kīra, we have seen that they were a people located in the mountains in the vicinity of the Kashmīr Valley. They conquered Brahmapura in the time of Lakshmī-Varma(n), and they are here represented as having again invaded the State. They were assisted by the Rāja of Durgara, the ancient name of Jammu State, of which the present form is Dugar, still in common use.¹ Who the Saumatika were is not quite certain, but most likely the inhabitants of Sumurta, in the Basohli State to the west of the Rāvī, are indicated. Kashmīr had from ancient times claimed an intermittent suzerainty over the hill tracts as far east as the Rāvī; and the formidable array which is represented as advancing against Sāhila-Varma(n) was probably meant to assert and uphold this claim. They doubtless anticipated an easy victory, but a crushing defeat awaited them; for they are spoken of as having been dispersed by the Chamba forces as if by a frown on the Rāja's brow.

The next reference is to Trigarta, the ancient name of Kāngra, which at that early period also included Jālandhar and a large portion of territory on the plains, between the Sutlej and the Rāvī. We are told that Sāhila-Varma(n)'s alliance was sought by the Trigarta Chief after a contest in which Chamba was victorious. With such a name for valour we may well believe that Sāhila-Varma(n)'s conquests were not confined to the Rāvī Valley; and the war with Trigarta suggests the probability of the Chamba Chief having carried his arms to the south of the Dhaula Dhār, and annexed the whole southern fringe of that range, from the Rāvī to Bīr-Bangāhal. There are said to be many traditions in Kāngra pointing to an early occupa-

¹ The text is almost exactly the same in both the plates, except that the reference to the Turushka is omitted from the first plate.

¹ The capital probably then was at Balhapura, now Babor, 17 miles east of Jammu, where ancient remains still exist. The Raja of Babbapura is referred to in the Rajatarangini as subject to Kashmir in A.D. 1087-88.

tion of these territories by Kulūta when is the ancient name of the principality of Kulū, and it owed allegiance to Chamba in the time of Sāhila-Varma(n), as it had done at an earlier period. The two royal families were also connected by marriage.

The reference to the Turushka is in some respects the most interesting of all. This name was applied to all invaders of India from the North-West. Originally used for the Turks, it came afterwards to have an exclusive reference to the Muhammadans, who from the middle of the seventh century had begun to make their influence felt on the North-West frontier. Kabul was conquered by them about A.D. 870. The Turkī-Shāhi dynasty, which had ruled Kabul and Peshawar for centuries, was overthrown about A.D. 875, by the Brahman Wazīr of the last Turkī-Shāhi king, who founded the Hindu-Shāhi dynasty, with its capital at Udabhāndapura now Ohind on the Indus. There this dynasty continued to rule over the kingdom of Gandhāra, till A.D. 960 and thereafter at Lahore, till finally expelled by Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1021. As we learn from the Rājataranginī, these kings were in alliance with Kashmir; and also doubtless with other States in the Panjāb, which was for a long time in subjection to them. We may, therefore, conclude that contingents were sent by these States to help to oppose the onward advance of the fierce invaders from the West; and it was most probably in one of these frontier wars that Sāhila-Varma(n) came into conflict with the Turushka, and gained renown for himself by his valiant deeds.

The reference to Kurukshetra is in full accord with ancient custom in India.

Sāhila-Varma(n) did not spend the last years of his life in Chamba; probably the home of his early days had greater attractions for him. We may well believe that his reign was a long one in view of all that he accomplished; and when his work done, and old age was creeping upon him, he abdicated in favour of his son, Yūgākar, and retired to Brahmapura to spend the evening of his life in peace. There he dwelt as a *sādhu* in the company of Charpatnāth and the other *yogis*, many of whose shrines are still pointed out on the small 'green' where all the temples stand, and which for this reason is called the 'Chaurāsi.' For the same reason the Chamba State is believed to have been originally subdivided into 84 *ilāqas*, but they are less numerous now.

Yūgākar-Varma(n)—(A.D. 940).—There is nothing on record in the Chronicle with regard to this Rāja subsequent to his accession, but a copper-plate deed which bears his name is still extant. It was granted in the tenth year of his reign, and is of interest as being the oldest yet discovered in Chamba. Its interest is enhanced by the

¹ Kallhana refers to a king of Kashmir visiting Kurukshetra on the occasion of a Solar eclipse, probably that which took place on 23rd July, A.D. 1134. *Rajatarang*, vii 2220 Stein.

fact that Yugākar refers to his father and mother by name, and also probably to his queen, Tribhuvanarekha Devī. The deed conveyed a grant of land to the Nārsingh Temple at Brāhmapura, which is spoken of as having been erected by the 'Rānī,' presumably his own or his father's queen. According to tradition Yugākar himself erected the temple of Ishwar-Gaurja, or Gaurī-Sha kar, in Chamba, near that of Lakshmī-Narāyana.

Vidagdha-Varma(n)—(c.A.D. 960).—A copper-plate of this Rāja's time is extant. Granted in the fourth year of his reign, it mentions his father, Yugākar, and his mother, Bhogamati Devī. The Rāja speaks of himself as of the house (gotra) of Moshuna—a name found in the Brāhmaur inscriptions.¹

Dodaka-Varma(n) (80).—In the *ṛansāvalī* Vidagdha-Varma(n) is followed by a Rāja named Daghdha-Varma(n). An inscribed stone recently found near Basu, contains, in consecutive order, the names Yugākar, Vidaghdha, and a third Rāja, named Dodaka, by whose order the stone was inscribed. It seems probable that this is the correct form of the name which, in the *ṛansāvalī*, has become corrupted into Daghdha. Dodaka was, therefore, the son of Vidaghdha and grandson of Yugākar, and as, in the inscription, he assumes the royal style and titles he must have been the ruling Rāja at the time the stone was inscribed. Daghdha, meaning 'burnt' is a most unlikely name for a Rāja.

Sālāvāhana-Varma(n) (A.D. 1040).—The name of this Rāja does not appear in the *ṛansāvalī*, and his very existence was unknown until the discovery of three copper-plates, in all of which he is mentioned.¹

With his reign another interesting period in the history of the State is reached. Kashmīr, as we have seen, had from ancient times asserted a claim to the suzerainty of the hill tracts on her borders, as far east as the Rāvī. There were probably long intervals during which this claim was in abeyance, or when, as in the time of Sāhila-Varma(n) it was impossible to enforce it; and the State then enjoyed complete independence. This would appear to have been the case from a period anterior to the reign of Sāhila-Varma(n), but it was now near an end. In A.D. 1028, Ananta-Deva succeeded as a child to the throne of Kashmīr; and when he grew up to manhood the claim of supremacy seems to have been revived, and was resisted by the Hill Chiefs. Chamba was then, as we learn from the *Rājataranginī*, under the rule of a Rāja named Sala, who for long was identified with Sāhila-Varma(n). It would seem that he refused to yield allegiance to Kashmīr, with the result that his country was

¹ An inscribed stone, found near Basu, is dated in the first year of Vidaghdha-Varma(n), and was erected by a vassal, probably a rana.

² On a rock inscription at Prolī-ragala the name of a raja occurs: not in the *Ṛansāvalī*, called Mrtyunjaya-Varma(n), probably after Dodaka.

³ The Harirai Temple was erected by Salakara, who probably was the same as Salāvāhana.

invaded, and himself defeated, deposed, and probably killed. There is no allusion to this event in the Chronicle, but, for reasons already stated, we may conclude that it occurred not later than A.D. 1060, nor earlier than about A.D. 1050; and Vallapura a Balaur—another small Hill State on the Rāvi—was invaded by Ananta-Deva about the same time, and presumably for the same reason.

Two inscribed fountain slabs of the time of Śālavāhana-Varma(n) were found in the Sai and Tisa *parganas* of Churah, which bear the name of a Rāja named Trailokyadeva, the suffix *deva* denoting that he was a ruling chief. These slabs raise an interesting question regarding the northern boundary of the State at that time. The name, Trailookya, is not found in the Chamba *Ṛansāvalī*, but it occurs in that of Balor (Basohli). The date of one of the slabs is S.4= A.D. 1028-9, and of the other S.27= A.D. 1041. One of the slabs was set up by a Rāna who refers to Trilokya-deva in terms which imply that the latter was his overlord, and the other by a Brahman who uses similar language. The dates correspond approximately to the time when Trailokya must have ruled, and the conclusion is therefore justified that Churah, the northern province of Chamba, was then a part of Balor State.

We learn from the plates that Śālavāhana had two sons—Soma-Varma(n) and Asata-Varma(n)—who ruled in succession.

Soma-Varma(n) (c.A.D. 1060).—After deposing Śālavāhana the king of Kashmīr is said to have set up another in his place, and that this was Soma-Varma(n) is clear from the plates, though his name, like that of his father, is entirely absent from the *ransāvalī*. The first deed is signed by Soma-Varma(n) alone, and was granted in the seventh year of his reign, on the occasion of a solar eclipse, probably September, A.D. 1066. It is on this plate that the signature of Śālavāhana appears, showing that he had intended to make the grant himself, which he was prevented from doing by his deposition and death. On it the *rānas* are also referred to under the name of ‘Rājānaka,’ and in such a manner as to indicate that some of them at least held high offices in the State.¹ The second deed made a grant of land in favour of Siva and Vishnu, and is now in the possession of the Champavatī and Hari Rai Temples. It is dated in the first year of Asata’s reign, and is signed by both brothers, with an additional grant in the eleventh year, signed by Asata. The long quotation relating to Sāhila-Varma(n) is found almost word for word in both of these plates, except the reference to the Turushka, which appears only in the second plate.

Asata-Varma(n) (A.D. 1080).—The first plate of this Rāja has already been referred to, and another, the third in which his father’s name is mentioned, was granted in the fifth year of his reign.

Though the *ransāvalī* is silent, strong corroborative evidence is

¹ One held the office of Mahamatya (Prime Minister), another that of Mahakshap-at-alika (Lord Chancellor).

furnished by the *Rājataranginī* where it is stated that "Asata, Rāja of Champa," visited Kashmir in the winter of A.D. 1087-88, in the reign of Kalasa, son of Ananta-Deva, who, like his father, asserted the claim of suzerainty over Chamba, and other Hill States. That this claim was widely acknowledged is proved by the fact that the rulers of seven other hill principalities, from Chamba to Urasa or Hazāra, were present in Kashmir at the same time as Asata-Varma(n). It would thus appear that, after the invasion of Ananta-Deva, the State remained more or less dependent on Kashmir for a considerable period. There were also inter-marriages between the two ruling families, for Kalasa had as his queen a sister of Asata, whose name was Bappika, and her son Harsa succeeded to the throne on his father's death.

Jāsata-Varma(n) (A.D. 1105).—The Chronicle furnishes no information about this Rāja, but he is referred to in the *Rājataranginī* as affording support to Harsa, his own cousin, in A.D. 1101, when Kashmir was invaded by the princes of the Lohara family, who claimed the throne. On that occasion he was taken prisoner by Sussala, in the temple at Vijayesvara (Bijbehara). He must, however, have been only heir-apparent at that time, as a stone inscription, found at Luj in Pāngī, is dated in the first year of his reign, S.81-A.D. 1105, which must therefore have been the year of his accession. The use of the Sāstra era is noteworthy as being the earliest certain instance yet found in Chamba. As the stone, which formed part of a *panihār*, or cistern, was erected by a vassal, probably a rāna, Pāngī must have been, even at that early period, under the supremacy of Chamba. In A.D. 1112 Jāsata is again mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* as supporting Bhikshachara grandson of Harsa, against Sussala who had then usurped the throne of Kashmir. Being unsuccessful Bhikshachara retired to Chamba, and lived there for four or five years as the Rāja's guest.¹ Jāsata's reign must therefore have lasted till about A.D. 1117-18. Another inscribed stone of Jāsata's reign exists at Loh-Tikrī in Churāh and is dated in his 9th year A.D. 1114.

It is thus evident that Chamba supremacy over Churāh had been established, probably by conquest from Balor, and it was still in force in the reign of Lalita-Varma(n) (A.D. 1143-75). This is proved by a fountain-stone containing his name, found at Debī-Kothī in Bera *pargana*, dated in the seventeenth year of Lalita-Varma(n) A.D. 1159-61). On another stone in the same fountain enclosure another inscription occurs containing the name of a Rāja named Rāna-pāla. This name is not found on the Chamba roll, but is present on that of Balor. It would, therefore, seem that at some date later than A.D. 1161 the Balaria Rāja had recovered possession of Churāh and his name was inscribed, either by his orders or by the Rāna of the time. His son was Ajaya-pāl as in the Balor *Ṭansāvalī* and

¹ He evidently was unwelcome as he had difficulty in procuring food and clothings from the Raja.

his name is also found on another fountain-slab of Lalita-Varma(n) at Sai, dated in A.D. 1169-70. There is no indication in any later inscription as to how long Balor retained possession, but we know that Churāh was for centuries a bone of contention between the two states, down almost to the extinction of Balor.

Dhāla-Varma(n) (A.D. 1118).—He is said to have been a brother of the previous Rāja, and his reign must have been short.

Udaya-Varma(n) (A.D. 1120).—The name of this Rāja seems to be out of its proper order in the *ransāvalī*, for it stands fifth after that of Jāsata. As the latter reigned till about A.D. 1118, and Udaya-Varma(n) is mentioned in the *Rājataranginī* as having been in Kashmīr in A.D. 1122, it seems improbable that four reigns intervened in such a short period. Chamba had now changed sides in the struggle which was going on for the throne of Kashmīr, and Udaya-Varma(n) lent his support to Sussala, who had been opposed by Jāsata. The change of attitude was most likely due to the fact that, in the interval, Sussala had espoused two princesses of the Chamba family, whose names were Devalekha and Tāralālekha, both of whom became *satī* on the death of Sussala, in A.D. 1128. Kashmīr was now in a very unsettled condition, owing to internal dissensions which had been going on for some time. Kalasa, the son of Ananta-Deva, was succeeded by Harsa, who, with his son Bhoja, was killed in A.D. 1101, and the throne seized by the Lohara Princes, Uchchla and Sussala. On the death of his father and loss of the kingdom, Bhikshachara, son of Bhoja, then a child, was taken away to Mālwa. Returning from there in A.D. 1112, he fell in with a party of Hill Chiefs at Kurukshetra, among whom was his own relative, Jāsata of Chamba, and they encouraged him to attempt the recovery of his kingdom. In this he had the support of Chamba, Vallāpura, and some of the Thākurs in the Chandrabhāga Valley. Being defeated he retired to Chamba, where as already stated, he resided for some time under the protection of Jāsata-Varma(n). Another attempt in A.D. 1120 resulted in his being restored to power, which, however, he retained only for six months. It is probable that Chamba had changed sides previous to this, for when in A.D. 1121-22 Sussala made a successful effort to regain the throne, he had the active support of Udaya-Varma(n). Kashmīr was now on the decline, and these disorders, and the Muhammadan invasions which had been in progress for more than a century, tended to still further weaken its power. Chamba seems to have taken advantage of this to assert its independence; at any rate there is no further reference to the State in the *Rājataranginī*.

After Udaya-Varma(n) the following Rājas ruled in succession, but no information about them is available:—*Ajīta-Varma(n)*, *Dahtīārī-Varma(n)*, *Prithvī-Varma(n)*.

Lalita-Varma(n) (A.D. 1143).—Two slab inscriptions of this Rāja's reign have recently been found. One of these is dated in his 17th year, and records the erection of a *panihār*, or cistern, at

Debrī Kothī, by a Rāna named Nāga Pāla, who states that he had received the title of 'Rājavakā' from the Rāja. The other inscribed stone is at Sālhi in the Saichu Nāla, Pāngī, and is dated in the 27th year of Lalita-Varma(n) S.46—A.D. 1170. This Rāja must therefore have begun to reign in A.D. 1143-44, and may have lived till about A.D. 1175. The second slab-part of a *panihār*—was erected by a Rāna, named Ladar Pal, whose literal descendants still hold land in Sālhi, as common farmers. In it Pāngī is called Pāngatī, which seems to have been the ancient name of the Valley.

Vijaya-Varma(n) (A.D. 1175).—This prince is said to have been brave and warlike, and was much beloved by his people. The Chronicle states that he invaded Kashmir and Ladakh, and brought back much spoil. The State boundaries were enlarged during his reign.¹ If we bear in mind the political condition of Northern India about this period, we shall have little difficulty in understanding the easy success which Vijaya-Varma(n) seems to have gained. In A.D. 1191 Muhammad of Ghor invaded India, and was defeated by the confederate Hindu Princes, under the leadership of Prithvī-Rāj of Delhi. He returned in A.D. 1193, and, in the great battle which ensued on the banks of the Ghaggar, Prithvī-Rāj perished with the followers of his army. In the following year Kanauj also was overthrown, and everywhere confusion and disorder reigned. There is thus little room for surprise that Vijaya-Varma(n) availed himself of the opportunity to extend the boundaries of the State.

He was succeeded by *Rāja-Varma(n)*; *Sāra-Varma(n)*; *Kirtī-Varma(n)*; *Ajīto-Varma(n)*; *Madana-Varma(n)*; brother of the previous Rāja; *Narakanjar-Varma(n)*; *Asha-Varma(n)*; *Jimūt-Varma(n)*.

Vairāsi-Varma(n). (A.D. 1330).—This Rāja is called Vairi-Varma(n) in the *vaṇśāvalī*, but a copper-plate deed gives his name as above. It bears the date Sāstra 6, Vik. 1387—A.D. 1330, which was probably the first year of his reign. This is the first plate with a distinct date, and for this reason it is both interesting and important. Vairāsi-Varma(n) had probably a long reign, and died about A.D. 1370.

Manīkya-Varma(n) (A.D. 1370).—The name of this Chief occurs on the copper-plates of his son, Bhot-Varma(n), the earliest of which is dated in A.D. 1397. We may, therefore, assume that this was the year of his father's death.

Bhot-Varma(n) (A.D. 1397).—The earliest plate of this reign has just been referred to, and the latest yet found has the date S.12—A.D. 1436. There is an allusion to Bhot-Varma(n)'s death in a deed granted by his son, from which it appears that this event took place in A.D. 1442.

Sangrām-Varma(n) (A.D. 1442).—The plates of this reign afford no assistance chronologically, as the dates of all but one are

¹ His sway is said to have extended to Gujrat.

uncertain.

Anand-Varma(n) (A.D. 1475).—The only dated plate of this Rāja was granted in S.57—A.D. 1481, but his reign probably began some years earlier. His mother's name was Sampurna Devī. Anand-Varma(n) was very religious, and was believed to have the power of working miracles. He espoused the daughter of the Rāja of Kangra, and in order to test his miraculous powers the dishes at the marriage feast were purposely placed so far from him as to be out of his reach. A vessel with three spouts was also given him to drink from. This, however, caused no inconvenience to the Chamba Chief. Whatever he wanted came towards him of its own accord, and when, he took up the glass to drink, snakes protruded from two of the spouts and stopped them, enabling him to use the third. Anand-Varma(n) died about A.D. 1512.

Ganesa-Varma(n) (A.D. 1512).—The first plate of this reign was granted in S.88, Śāka 1434—A.D. 1512, and the last in S.35—A.D. 1559.

Ganesa-Varma(n)'s reign was thus a very long one. In several plates the name of his son, Partāp-Singh-Varma(n), occurs, and he is styled 'Yuvarāja' and 'Mahārājaputra.' These plates furnish the earliest instances of the use of the suffix 'Singh' in the Chamba family.

Ganesa-Varma(n) built the fort of Ganeshgarh in the Mothila *ilāqa* to protect his frontier, and consolidate his power to the south of the Dhaula Dhār. This was done probably towards the end of his reign, when the signs of the times began to point to the near approach of that Mughal supremacy, which was soon to overshadow at the Hill States of the Panjab. Chamba had probably enjoyed complete independence for more than 400 years; for the early Muhammadan rulers of India were too much engrossed in defending or extending their possessions on the plains to attempt the conquest of the inner mountains. Kāngra, it is true, was invaded once and again, and the famous fort captured and re-captured; but there is no evidence that these inroads extended beyond the Siwālik. With the rise of the Mughal power this immunity and freedom came to an end. Akbar the Great, then a boy of 14, ascended the throne in A.D. 1556. When the news of his father's death arrived he was at Kalanaur in the Gurdāspur District, having been engaged in the pursuit of Sikandar Shāh Sur, who retreated before him into the hills. Immediately after his accession the young Emperor advanced into the outer hills and at Nurpur Dharm Chand of Kāngra waited upon him and was received into favour. In A.D. 1558, Sikandar Shāh emerged from his retreat in the hills, and occupied the fort of Maukot, half way between Pathānkot and Nurpur and within the Nurpur State, which he held for eight months;¹ and on its capitula-

¹ Maukot is called Mankot by mistake in Elphinstone's History of India, page 431.

tion the Rāja of Nurpur, who had sided with him, was taken to Lahore and executed. There were thus good grounds for apprehension on the part of the other States; and it is probable that Mughal influence had begun to make itself felt in Chamba previous to the death of Ganesa-Varma(n) in A.D. 1559.

Ganesa-Varma(n) had six sons, *viz.*, Partāp-Singh, Jit-Singh; Bir Bahādur; Harī-Singh; Satargun-Singh, Rupanand-Singh. It is noteworthy that almost all of them bore the suffix 'Singh,' which was now coming into general use, but it did not entirely displace the older name of Varma(n) for fully half a century, and Partāp-Singh-Varma(n), the next Rāja, used both names synchronously.

Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) (A.D. 1559).—This Rāja is called the son of Ganesa-Varma(n) and Sahib Devī on the copper-plates of his reign, of which there are many extant. He is said to have been very generous, and considerate of the well-being and comfort of his people. This was shown specially in his unwillingness to impose heavy taxation upon them. The Lakshmi-Narāyaṇa Temple was in need of repairs, and the erection of other temples was under contemplation; but there was no money in the treasury for this purpose. Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) called a council of his officials to ask their advice, and they all recommended the imposition of a tax. This course, however, did not commend itself to the Rāja, as it meant a new burden on his subjects. He was much concerned about the matter, but next morning, on taking his seat in Darbār, a man presented himself from the Hill *ilāqa* with a piece of copper in his hand, and said that a copper mine had been discovered near his village. The Rāja at once issued orders for the working of the mine, and, with the produce, repaired all the temples, and built some new ones. The mine then became exhausted, or was closed, but the old workings may still be seen.

Soon after this, war broke out between Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) and the Rāja of Kāngra, whose name is given as Chandar Pāl.¹ As the suffix of the Kāngra Rājas has always been 'Chand' it is clear that a mistake has crept into the Chronicle. The surname of the Bangāhal Rājas was 'Pāl' and it is just possible that the war was with that State, Kāngra coming to the assistance of its weaker neighbour. In any case the main struggle seems to have been with Kāngra, and it ended in the defeat of the Katoch forces, and the death of Jit Singh, the younger brother of the Kāngra Rāja. Much booty in horses and elephants was taken, and Charī and Ghāroh, two small districts near the Chamba border, were annexed. Gulēr, the capital of the Gulēr State, is said to have been occupied by the Chamba army, and from this it seems probable that the war was also with the Gulēr branch of the Katoch family of Kāngra. It would be interesting to know if there is any record of this war in

¹ In the Sanskrit *raṃsavali* the Rāja's name is 'Chandra,' and he is called "The king of Nagar-kot" (Kangra). There is no mention of Guler.

the Katoch annals.

Partāp-singh-Varma(n) was contemporary with Akbar, and it seems probable that early in his reign the whole of the Hill States, including Chamba, became subject and tributary to the Mughal Empire. Soon afterwards Todar Mal, the great finance minister of Akbar, was deputed by his master to create an imperial, demesne in Kāngra by confiscating territory from the various States of the Kāngra group. In accordance with his instructions, Todar Mal annexed a large portion of the Kāngra Valley, and made a similar demand on each of the other States proportionate to their means. Chamba was compelled to surrender Rihlu and all the territory it then held to the east of that province; as also the two small districts of Charī and Ghāroh recently acquired from Kāngra. In presenting his report to his royal master, Todar Mal is said to have made use of the metaphor, that he had "taken the meat and left the bone"; meaning that he had annexed the fertile tracts, and abandoned only the bare hills to the Hill Chiefs.¹ There was much truth in this remark as regards Chamba, for Rihlu was the most fertile portion of the State.

From this time onwards for nearly 200 years Chamba, like the other Hill States, was in subjection to the Empire; but all accounts agree that the Mughal authority sat very lightly on the Hill Chiefs. Their prerogatives were seldom questioned, and there was practically no interference in their internal administration. Indeed, throughout the whole period of Muhammadan ascendancy, the Hill Chiefs seem to have experienced liberal and even generous treatment. So long as they did not fail in their allegiance, they were left very much to themselves in the government of their principalities; and were allowed to wield the power and exercise the functions of independent sovereigns. For example, they built forts, and waged war on one another, without any reference to, or interference from, the Emperor, and sometimes even asked and received assistance in men and arms from the Mughal Viceroy. On his accession each Chief had to acknowledge the supremacy of the Emperor by the payment of a fee of investiture after which he received a *sanad*, or patent of installation, with a *khilat*, from the Imperial Darbar. A yearly tribute, called *peshkash*, of four lakhs of rupees was exacted from the States of the Kāngra group in the time of Shāh Jahān, as we learn from the Bādshahnāma. The Hill Chiefs were always addressed as 'Zamindār.' There seems to have been much friendly intercourse between them and the Imperial Court, as is proved by the letters and valuable presents received from the Emperors which are still in the possession of some of the old royal families.¹ Some

¹ This incident is traditionary and there is no mention of the demesne in the histories, but it was attached to the Fort probably from the time of its capture by Jahangir, in A.D. 1620.

¹ There are two such letters in Chamba, and also presents said to have been given to Raja Prithvi-singh by Shah Jahan. There are also several letters from the Durani rulers of Kabul. Vide Appendix V.

of the Chiefs gained for themselves so high a place in the favour of the Emperors that they received *mansab*, or military rank, in the Imperial army, and were advanced to important offices in the State. As we shall see, such a distinction fell to the lot of one at least of the Chamba Rājas.

There is some doubt as to how much of Lahul was under Chamba in early times, but it seems probable that from the tenth or eleventh century, if not from an earlier period, the main Chandra-blāga valley, as far up as Tandi near the junction of the two rivers, was included in State territory. Many traditions are said to exist in Lahul, pointing to this conclusion, and the people of Gus, on the left bank, say that they once owned a copper-plate deed, granted by a Chamba Rāja, which was taken from them after the country was annexed to Kulū.

On the right bank these traditions are not so clear, owing probably to the fact that the country was more open to invasion, and must often have changed hands. The rest of Lahul including the valleys of the Chandra and Blāga, seems to have been under Kulū from early times. In the Kulū annals it is stated that Lahul was conquered by Chamba in the reign of Rudar Pāl, the nineteenth Rāja from the founder of the Kulū dynasty, but was recovered by Kulū in the following reign after a hard contest on the Rotang Pass; and though these records are more or less legendary, yet they confirm the conclusion that in early time Lahul was under the rule of Kulū and Chamba. In the middle of the twelfth century Kulū, with the upper portion of Lahul was conquered by Ladakh, and remained subject to that country, more or less, till about A.D. 1660-70. Chamba however, maintained its supremacy over the greater part of the main valley, and seems also to have gained some influence in upper Lahul, for the Kulū annals state that the territory now embraced in British Lahul, and formerly a part of Kulū, was acquired by that State from Chamba.¹

The latest plates of Partāp-Singh-Varma(n) are dated S.62—A.D. 1686, and he probably died in the same year. In one of his plates, dated S.55, Vik. 1635—A.D. 1579, Balachandra-Deva, his grandson, is called² Yuvarāja and Tikka; though Vīr-Vāhmu, his son, was alive, and succeeded to the *gaddi*. The title was probably accorded to both father and son.

Vīr-Vāhmu—(A.D. 1586).—This Rāja was in power for only four years at the most, as his son, Balachandra, succeeded in A.D. 1589—the year in which his earliest plate is dated. No plate of this reign has yet been found.

Bala-chandra—(A.D. 1589).—This Chief stands out conspicuous among his compeers on account of his reputed piety, great generosity,

¹ Possibly the barons of upper Lahul paid tribute both to Chamba and Kulu.

² This is the earliest instance of the use of the title Tikka in Chamba.

and the many legends which are associated with his name. He was profuse in his gifts to Brahmans, and at least 42 copper-plates of his reign are known to be extant. There may be more. By his people he was named Bali-Karna, after two heroes of antiquity famous for their generosity. He bestowed grants of land and other gifts upon Brahmans in a most lavish manner;¹ and regarded this as his highest and most imperative duty, refusing even to eat each morning till this had been discharged. The grants of his reign are far in excess of those of any other Chamba Chief either before or since. No petitioner was sent away disappointed, and, if a request was made to him, the Rāja used to part with any article which was lying near, regardless of its value. He gifted grants of land to the Lakshmi-Narāyana Temple, as well as many jewels, and other valuables, some of which are still in existence. Each of them is enclosed in a golden case with an inscription on it, one of these bearing the date, Vik. 1675—A.D. 1619.

These lavish gifts seem to have gone on for some years and to such an extent that the State administration became seriously embarrassed. The officials were much concerned, and tried to dissuade the Rāja from such profuse liberality, but their remonstrances only made him angry, and were met by a sharp rebuke. At length, owing to the excessive drain on the treasury, there was difficulty in meeting ordinary and necessary State expenditure. Just then Janārdan, the Rāja's eldest son, came of age, and the officials begged him to intervene by removing his father from power. This was accordingly done, and Bala-Chandra was deported to the village of Baraia on the other side of the Rāvī, and a house and lands were assigned for his support.

But there also Bala-Chandra is said to have continued his lavish gifts, and soon the whole of the land assigned him was alienated to Brahmans. As nothing now remained to him but the house he lived in, he was in great straits. Being under the necessity of giving before eating, he began to part with his house at the rate of a foot each morning, and, when in this way a whole verandah or room had been disposed of, he ceased to use it, considering that it was no longer his property. In course of time the whole building was thus gifted away, and the Rāja then vacated it, and lived in the open, at the same time refusing to eat. On this being reported to his son, Janārdan gave his father a fresh grant of land to enable him to continue his benefactions.

No reference to the deposition is to be found in the Chronicle; but the traditions regarding it are so clear and definite that they must have a foundation in fact. There is some obscurity as to the year in which it took place, but a consideration of all the data available leads to the conclusion that it cannot have been later than

¹ Such grants were not confined to Chamba for plates have recently been found in Nurpur and Kangra.

A.D. 1613. This conclusion is sustained by an existing record, evidently compiled from older documents, in which the period of Bala-Chandra's deposition is given as Vik. 1670-80--A.D. 1613-23. Some light is thrown on the subject by an examination of the copper-plates of his reign. These are all carefully dated and extend from A.D. 1589 to 1641, the year of his death. Only two marked breaks occur in the regular continuity of these plates, one between A.D. 1599 and 1607, and the other between A.D. 1620 and 1629. In all of them Bala-Chandra is referred to in terms which imply that he was recognised as Rājā; and the grants are not limited to one locality, but are widely distributed, and are still in the possession of the descendants of the original grantees. Another plate recently found was issued by Janārdan in A.D. 1613, and in it also Bala-Chandra is spoken of as Rājā. In it Janārdan is called "Maharāja Kumāra," "Mahārājaputra" and "Mie," i.e., Mian, and the fact of the plate having been issued by him points to the conclusion that he was then in authority in the State, and that he only acted as regent, and did not assume full power in his own name. The issue of the plate probably marks the beginning of his regency. In the *varsāvalī* Janārdan's name is found after that of his father in the regular order of succession.

Shortly after Janārdan assumed the government, war broke out between him and the Rājā of Nurpur. The cause of this war is not known, but it was probably due to an attempt on the part of the Nurpur Chief to enlarge his borders at the cost of Chamba. At that time, as we know, Jagat-singh, second brother of Suraj Mal, the then Rājā of Nurpur, stood high in the favour of the Emperor Jahāngīr, and if he originated the war with Chamba, as he is said to have done, he doubtless counted on obtaining support from the Mughal Viceroy of Lahore. It is certain, however, that Jagat-singh was not Rājā of Nurpur at the time the war began, for he did not obtain that position till after the rebellion and death of his brother, Suraj Mal, in A.D. 1618-19.

The war went on in a desultory manner for twelve years without either side gaining any decided advantage; and there seem to have been intervals of peace.¹ This was the case in A.D. 1618, for we learn from the Bādshāhnāma that, when Suraj Mal rebelled and was compelled by the Imperial army to flee from Nurpur, he found a temporary refuge in one of the Chamba forts, and ultimately retired to the capital. There he was joined by his youngest brother, Mādho-singh, who had for a time defended the Kotila Fort. As the Imperial forces were preparing to advance against Chamba, news came that Suraj Mal was dead. The Mughal Commander then sent a peremptory order to the Chamba Chief to surrender all money and valuables belonging to the deceased Rājā on pain of his highest

¹ A copper plate is extant, by Balabhadra, conferring a *sasan* grant on the parohit of Raja Jagat-singh, and dated A.D. 1618.

displeasure. This order was complied with, the property being sent through the son and the brother of the Rāja. Madho-singh also was given up. On his brother's rebellion, Jagat-singh was recalled from Bengal by the Emperor, who conferred on him the *mansab* of 1,000 with 500 horse, the title of Rāja, and a present, and he was sent to assist in the siege of Kāngra Fort, which was then in progress. He also became Rāja of Nurpur in succession to Suraj Mal. The siege of Kāngra Fort ended in its capture in November A.D. 1620, and in January, 1622, Jahāngīr visited Kāngra, coming by Siba and returning by Nurpur. There he was waited on by the Hill Chiefs and among them reference is made in the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* to the Rāja of Chamba. The reference is as follows:—“At this stage the offering of the Rāja of Chamba was laid before me. His country is 25 *kos* beyond Kāngra. There is no greater Zamindār in these hills than this. The country is the asylum of all the Zamindārs of the hills. It has passes difficult to cross. Until now he had not obeyed any king nor sent offerings. His brother also was honoured by paying his respects and on his part performed the duties of service and loyalty. He seemed to me to be reasonable and intelligent and urbane. I exalted him with all kinds of patronage and favour.” The Rāja referred to was probably Janārdan, with his brother, Bishambar. Hostilities seem to have been resumed with Chamba soon afterwards, and ultimately the Mughal Viceroy espoused the cause of Jagat-singh, and sent troops to his support. A decisive battle was fought at Dhalog on the Sandhāra Road; the Chamba army was defeated, and Bishambar, Janārdan's younger brother was killed. Jagat-singh then advanced on the capital, which he captured and sacked—while Janārdan, unable to offer any effective resistance, fled. A treacherous message was then sent him by Jagat-singh—offering terms of peace if he would present himself in Darbār to discuss them. Janārdan, suspecting nothing, accepted the invitation, and came with only a few followers. While they were engaged in conversation, Jagat-singh suddenly drew his dagger and plunged it into Janārdan's breast, inflicting a mortal wound. The latter also had a dagger in his waistbelt, but the handle was tied to the sheath by a cord, so that he could not draw it in time to defend himself. Owing to this the Chamba Rājas have ever since worn the dagger loose in the sheath. The date of Janārdan's death was probably in A.D. 1623. The fact of his having been killed by Jagat-singh is confirmed by a statement to that effect in the *Bādshāhnāma*.¹

In the *ransāvalī* it is stated that Janārdan left no heir, but his *rānī* was *enceinte*, and that, on learning this Jagat-singh gave orders that a strict watch should be kept on the palace. If the infant proved to be a boy he was at once to be killed, and if a girl she was to be married into the Nurpur family so as to strengthen his hold on the State. When the child, afterwards Prithvī-singh, was born, his

¹ This tragedy is said to have taken place in the Palace at Chamba.

nurse, named Bathi, is said to have smuggled him out of the palace, without the knowledge of the guards, and conveyed him away to Mandī. Recent research has shown that the birth story is not quite correct. A second plate, granted by Janārdan and dated Māgh, Sambat 1595—February, A.D. 1619, records a sasan *grant* to a Brahman on the occasion of the birth of his son, Prithvī-singh, who must, therefore, have been born before his father's death. There is, however, no reason to doubt the fact of his having been conveyed away to Mandī.

On Janārdan's death the State became subject to Jagat-singh, and is said to have been ruled by his officials for 20 years.

He built the fort of Tāragarh within Chamba territory as there was no site so good in his own country. This fort is said to have received its name from the fact that a farmer, named Tāra, was buried alive beneath the foundations as a sacrifice to ensure its stability, according to a custom common in India in former times. The stronghold occupied a conspicuous position on the summit of an almost inaccessible hill near the Chamba-Nurpur frontier, and its ruins are still visible from a distance. It stood Jagat-singh in good stead at the time of his own rebellion in A.D. 1641.¹

Some uncertainty still exists regarding the status of Bala-Chandra during the period of Nurpur supremacy, but it seems probable that on Janārdan's death he was restored to power, and continued till his death to rule the State in subjection to Jagat-singh. No plates have yet been found of the years from A.D. 1620 to 1629. From A.D. 1629, however, the issue of plates was resumed and continued till the early spring of A.D. 1641. His death must have occurred soon afterwards, shortly before the return of his grandson, Prithvī-singh, in the summer of the same year. The record containing the date of his deposition states that he died in Vik. 1699—A.D. 1642, but this is probably incorrect. In the other plates two other sons are referred to by name—Mān-singh and Sudar Sen—and the names of other sons have been handed down by tradition.

Prithvī-singh (A.D. 1641).—After he grew up to manhood Prithvī-singh, who was still in Mandī, only awaited a favourable opportunity to strike a blow for the recovery of his kingdom. The opportunity came in A.D. 1641, when Jagat-singh, in conjunction with his son, Rājrup-singh, raised the standard of rebellion against Shāhjahān. Till now Jagat-singh's career had been fortunate and successful. Under Jahāngīr he rose to a *mansab* of 3,000 with 2,000 horse, and during the reign of Shāhjahān he retained his honours, and was appointed to Bangash,¹ and two years later to Kabul, where

¹ Taragarh consisted of three forts, one above another, the highest being perched on the summit of the hill. It covered an area of about 30 acres, and had 12 fortified gateways.

¹ The Kurram Valley and Kohat. Vide Proc. Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1872, p. 158.

he greatly distinguished himself. In the eleventh year of Shāhjahān's reign, he was sent from Kabul to Kandhār with the Imperial army, and had command of the vanguard. In the twelfth year he returned to Lahore, received presents from the Emperor, and was again appointed Faujdār of Bangash. In his father's absence, Rājrup-singh was in charge of the State, and was appointed by Shāhjahān to the important post of Faujdār of Kāngra, and collector of the tribute from the Hill Chiefs. In the spring of A.D. 1641, in secret concert with his father, who was then in Bangash, he rebelled. Jagat-singh pretended anger, and asked to be made Faujdār himself, so that he might suppress the revolt, and pay in the *nācrāna* of four lakhs. This request was granted, but on his return to the hills, he first showed discontent, and then broke out into open revolt. We are not told what was the cause of the trouble, but the Pathānia Chiefs were ever turbulent, and this was by no means the first time they had raised their hands against the Emperor. Court intrigues against him are hinted at by Jagat-singh, in his petition to Shāhjahān.

On the news of the outbreak reaching the Imperial ear, a large army under the command of Prince Murād Bakhsh, youngest son of the Emperor, with many able Captains, was sent to suppress it, and assembled at Pathānkot,¹ in August, A.D. 1641.

The Chronicle makes no mention of Jagat-singh's rebellion, but it was doubtless on hearing of it that Prithvī-singh asked and obtained help in money and troops from the Rājas of Mandī and Sukēt, to enable him to recover his kingdom. Passing through Kulū, he crossed the Rotang Pass into Lahul, and, advancing by way of Pāngī, crossed the Ghēni Pass into Churāh, the northern province of the State. This he reconquered and fought his way to the capital, which he captured, expelling the Nurpur officials from the country. We may assume that these events occurred in the summer of A.D. 1641, for early in December of that year Prithvī-singh was present in the Mughal Camp near Pathānkot and was sent on to the Imperial Court, probably then in Lahore, to pay his respects to the Emperor.

Jagat-singh offered a brave resistance too the overwhelming force sent against him. He had long been preparing for a struggle, and had strongly fortified the three principal strongholds in his territory. These were Maukot, Nurpur and Tāragarh. All the hill passes and ways of approach were also blocked and defended by his troops. Maukot was only a fortified enclosure with dense jungle around it, but it was a position of great strength.² Jagat-singh

¹ Called Paithan in the *Bodshahnama*.

² Maukot was situated about half way between Pathankot and Nurpur, on a ridge of low hills running to the east of the Chakki. The place is near Raja ka Bagh, and is still called Mauwa da ban, but only vestiges of the fortifications now remain. It is called the "Fort of Mau" in the *Badshahnama*, and was built by Islam-Shah, son of Sher-Shah Sur, A.D. 1545-53.

decided on making his first stand there, while Nurpur was entrusted to some of his officers. Both of these forts were invested by the Imperial army in the middle of October, and the siege was pressed with great vigour.¹ By the middle of December, Jagat-singh's position in Maukot had become untenable, so he abandoned it and, along with his sons, fled to Tāragarh. Two days afterwards the defenders of Nurpur also evacuated that fort, on hearing of the fall of Maukot.²

All this we learn from the Bādshāhnāma, and though the narrative does not actually say so, it seems to imply that Prithvī-singh was present at the siege of Maukot or Nurpur. It is as follows:— "On the 23rd of Ramazān (16th December, A.D. 1641), the high-born prince (Prince Murād Bakhsh) in accordance with the sublime orders, sent Prithvī-Chand, the Zemindār of Champa, whose father had been killed by the outcast Jagat-singh, and who was at this time enrolled among the royal servants on the recommendation of the ministers of the State, to the royal threshold, the abode of great kings, along with Alla Vairdi Khān and Mīr Buzurg, who had gone to bring him.".....

"Prithvī-Chand, the Zemindār of Champa, was honoured with a *khilat*, an inlaid dagger, the title of 'Commander of one thousand,' and the actual command of four hundred horsemen, the title of Rāja and a horse. As the mountain on which Jagat-singh had laid the foundations of the fort of Tāragarh was in Chanība, and had been taken by the Rāja with violence; and as the back of the fort joined on to the above-mentioned territory, and had in that direction an eminence commanding it, the possession of which was essential to the taking of the fort, he was ordered to go home that he might make the necessary preparations to deliver an attack with a proper force from the back of the fort, and capturing the eminence, reduce the besieged to straitened circumstances." It was probably in consequence of this order that Prithvī-singh sent to Sangrām-pāl of Basohli for help, for which he surrendered to Basohli the *pargana* of Bhalai.¹

SIEGE OF TARAGARH.

As soon as arrangements were complete, the Imperial army, in the end of December, advanced to the assault of Tāragarh. On

¹ During the siege Rajrup-singh was sent to the Mughal camp under a safe conduct with a letter to the Emperor proposing terms of surrender, but they were not accepted.

² Maukot was captured on 13th December and Nurpur on 15th December, A.D. 1641.

¹ For some reason unknown Prithvī-singh, in A.D. 1648, claimed the retrocession of Bhalai, and his claim was upheld by the Imperial delegate, though not enforced till the following reign. Vide Appendix V.

his return from Chamba with his force, Prithvī-singh took up his position on the ground assigned him, in conjunction with Rāja Mān Singh of Gwālior, (Guler) who is spoken of as "the mortal enemy of Jagat-singh." By the beginning of March, A.D. 1642, the garrison was reduced to great straits, and Jagat-singh, realising that his cause was hopeless, sued for pardon, and in company with his sons surrendered himself to the clemency of the Emperor. They appeared in Darbār with halters round their necks, and after making their submission, were not only pardoned but restored to all their honours.² On the conclusion of the war, Tāragarh was taken over by the Mughals and garrisoned with Imperial troops.³

The account of these occurrences in the Chronicle differs from that of the *Bādshāhnāma*. It is as follows:—"On recovering his kingdom Prithvī-singh determined to avenge himself on Jagat-singh. He, therefore, concluded a league with Sangrām-pāl of Basohli, and surrendered to him the *pargana* of Bhalai, after which both Rājas went to the Mughal Viceroy at Kalanaur to ask help. This was granted on condition that Jagat-singh should be taken alive, and made over to the Viceroy. The Rājas with their forces then advanced upon Nurpur which they assaulted and captured, but the final assault having been made at night, Jagat-singh escaped in the darkness to Tāragarh, where he was taken a month afterwards and sent on to the Viceroy, seated on a buffalo with his face backwards.

Having recovered his kingdom, Prithvī-singh next addressed himself to its consolidation and extension. His advance through Pāngī had made him personally acquainted with that valley, which was still under the rule of the local rānas subject to the supremacy of Chamba. These he displaced, and appointed his own officials, thus bringing the country directly under State control. A rock inscription bearing his name exists between Kilār and Sāch, where the river flows through a narrow gorge, and it probably records the fact that in S.18—A.D. 1642, the precipice was cut away by his orders for the construction of a road. He was the first to build Kothīs, or State offices, in Churāh and Pāngī.

After completing the consolidation of his kingdom, Prithvī-singh went on pilgrimage to Prayag, Kāshi and Gaya. He is also said to have visited Delhī nine times in the reign of Shāhjahān, and to have been received with much favour—a *jaqīr* in Jaswān, of Rs.

² Jagat-singh was restored to his honours on 10th April, A.D. 1642, and afterwards rendered distinguished service to the Emperor in the Afghan wars, in which he was accompanied by his son, Rajrup-singh; but the exposure he endured undermined his health and he returned to Peshawar in January, 1646, only to die. Vide Elphinstone's *History of India*, p. 511.

³ According to popular tradition the siege of Taragarh lasted 12 years. The surrender took place on 11th March and Jagat-singh, with his sons, appeared before the Emperor on 17th March, A.D. 1642. The Mughals are said to have planted a garden of mangoe trees, and eaten the first fruit, after ten years.

26,000 value, being granted him by the Emperor, which continued to be attached to the State for ninety years. This *jaḡīr* was really that of Dūn and Nādaun in Kāngra, (appendix v. c. 7), which was withdrawn in the reign of Rāja Ugar Singh. There are still in the Toshakhana many valuable presents, especially inlaid daggers, and a jewelled sirpaich with a large sapphire in it, which were received by Prithvī-singh on the occasion of his visits to Delhi. The family idol of the Chamba Rājas, called Raghubīr, is said to have been obtained from Shāhpahān on one of these occasions. It had originally been used as a weight in the Mughal Palace.

Tradition says that Prithvī-singh was a very handsome man, and his fame spread through Delhi to such a degree that the ladies of the royal zanana begged to be allowed to see him. He was accordingly led blind-folded into the harem that they might have their wish gratified.

Prithvī-singh was married to a daughter of Sangrām-pāl, of Basohli, and had eight sons, whose names were:—Shatru-singh, Jai-singh, Indar-singh, Mahipat-singh, Raghunāth-singh, Rām-singh, Shakat-singh, and Rāj-singh. From this time onwards the old suffix of Varma(n) was entirely dropped.

Among the Gaddī Khātris of Brahmaur there is a tradition that their ancestors fled from Lahore in the time of Prithvī-singh to escape the persecutions of Aurangzeb. It is probable, however, that this took place at a much earlier period.¹

The temples of Khajināg at Khajiār, Hidimba at Mahla, and Sīta-Rām at Chamba, are believed to have been erected in this reign by Batlu, the nurse who was the means of saving Prithvī-singh's life.¹

Chatar-singh (A.D. 1664).—This Rāja's name was Shatru-singh, as appears from the copper-plates, but Chatar-singh is the name in common use. On his accession, he appointed Jai-singh, his brother, to the office of Wazīr, and sent him to Sangrām-pāl of Basohli, to demand the restoration of the Bhalai *ilāqa*, alienated by his father. This demand being refused, Chatar-singh it is said invaded Basohli and re-annexed Bhalai to Chamba. He visited Pāngī, and carried his arms lower down the Chandrābhāga valley, into Pādar, which had till then remained in the possession of its rānas, though probably under the suzerainty of Chamba. These he removed from all authority and appointed his own officials. He also founded a town on the plain and named it Chatargarh. Being an emporium of the Central Asian trade, a good deal of which then

¹ In connection with this tradition the following popular rhyme is of interest:—

Lahore became waste: Brahmor was peopled. Ujriya Lahor-Vasiya Brahmor.

¹ She also built a bridge over the Ravi at Nelhora near Chamba, called Daku ra seu, or Duku's bridge; so named after her husband.

passed through Nurpur and Chamba to Zaskar and Ladakh, the town grew and flourished, until A.D. 1836; when it was completely destroyed by the Dogras, and the name changed to Gulābgarh.

In A.D. 1678, the Emperor Aurangzeb issued an order for the demolition of all Hindu temples in the State. Chatar-singh refused to render obedience, and directed that a gilt pinnacle should be put on each of the chief temples in Chamba as a mark of defiance. On hearing this the Emperor was greatly incensed, and summoned the Rāja to Delhī. Instead of going himself he sent his brother, Shakat-singh, who was accompanied by Rāj-singh of Gulēr, but for some reason unknown they turned back from Bajwāra, before reaching Delhī. Chatar-singh seems to have been able to allay the Emperor's wrath, but there is no record as to how the matter was finally settled. The gilt pinnacles remain on the temples to the present day.

At that time Mirza Rezia Beg, the Suba or Viceroy of the Puniāb, who resided chiefly at Kalanaur, used to make incursions into the hills, and greatly annoyed the Hill Chiefs. This led to confederation being formed against him, in which were included Chatar-singh of Chamba, Rāj-singh of Gulēr, Dhirāj-pāl of Basohli and Kirpāl-deo of Jammu. Jammu sent a force of Pathān troops and the confederate army defeated that of the Viceroy, enabling the Chiefs to recover the territory they had lost.

It was probably in the beginning of Chatar-singh's reign that Lahul was finally divided between Chamba and Kulū. Till then, as we have seen, Chamba territory extended up to the junction of the Chandra and Bhāga; the remainder of Lahul being under Kulū and subject to Ladākh. In consequence of the invasion of Ladākh by Eastern Tibet in A.D. 1646-47 the power of the former country was much weakened, and Rāja Bidhī-singh, of Kulū, A.D. 1663—74, took advantage of this to throw off his allegiance and expel the Ladākhi officials from Lahul. Soon afterwards Chamba lost the upper part of the main valley. The Kulū annals state that Lahul was acquired as dowry with a Chamba princess, but this is improbable. It seems more likely that the transfer of territory was the result of war and conquest, as is hinted at in the local tradition of Kulū. There seems to be no authority for the statement that Gugē in upper Kanāwar had gained a footing in Lahul, and that Chamba and Kulū combined to expel the invader and then divided the country between them.²

Chatar-singh died in A.D. 1690, leaving two sons; Udai-singh and Lachman-singh.

Udai-singh (A.D. 1690).—The new reign began auspiciously. The young Rāja was well read and accomplished, the people were

¹ Vide *Kulu, Lahul and Spiti*, p. 39. Raja Udai Singh, (A.D. 1720), visited Lahul in the early part of his reign, possibly in connection with the boundry dispute with Kulu, Udaipur near Triloknath was named after him.

² Vide Appendix V.

happy and contented, and the country was prosperous. Jai-singh, brother of the late Rājā, seems to have retained the office of Wazīr throughout the previous reign, and he was re-appointed by Udai-singh. Much of the prosperity which the State enjoyed seems to have been due to his able administration, and it continued while he lived. He died, however, shortly after Udai-singh's accession. About the same time Rāj-singh of Gulēr also died, and was succeeded by his son, Dalīp-singh, a minor, to whom Udai-singh had been appointed guardian. Taking advantage of Dalīp-singh's minority, the Rājas of Jammu, Bhadr and Basohli, invaded Gulēr, and Udai-singh was appealed to for help. He sent to Siba, Kahlūr and Maudī, and with the co-operation of these States drove out the invaders, and restored the infant Rājā to his rights.

So far all had gone well, and how long this prosperity continued we do not know, but dark days were now at hand. Udai-singh was of a self-willed disposition, and after his uncle's guiding hand and wise counsel were withdrawn, his natural tendencies began to assert themselves. He gradually gave way to evil courses, and surrendered himself to sensual pleasures, which alienated from him the loyalty of his people. The administration of the State became more and more disorganised, and at length a climax was reached when Udai-singh appointed a barber, with whose daughter he had fallen in love, to the office of Wazīr, and resigned all authority into his hands. The officials then interfered and deposed him from power, in the hope that this would have a salutary effect. Meantime Ugar-singh, son of Mahipat-singh and cousin of the Rājā, was appointed regent. At the end of a month Udai-singh was restored, but he soon relapsed into his former ways; and Ugar-singh being afraid, fled to Jammu. Things went from bad to worse until, at last, the officials formed a conspiracy against the Rājā, and determined to kill him, and put Lachman-singh, his younger brother, on the *gaddi*. Lachman-singh, on being approached, fell in with their designs, and joined the conspirators. To carry out their purpose, a day was fixed when Udai-singh was to hunt at Udaipur, a large plain on the left bank of the Rāvi, three miles below Chamba. About mid-day they began firing their guns, and Udai-singh, realising danger, came out of his tent with a sword in his hand. Seeing a few of his personal servants standing near, he called on them to rally around him. Touched by his appeal, and repenting of the part he was playing, Lachman-singh abandoned the conspirators, and took his stand beside his brother. On this the officials ordered Lachman-singh to be killed first and then the Rājā was mortally wounded. He died in a few days. The spot on which this tragedy took place has remained uncultivated to the present time.

Udai-singh died in A.D. 1720, after having reigned for thirty-years. He left no heir to succeed him, and Lachman-singh seems also to have died childless.

Ugar-singh (A.D. 1720).—As has been stated, Ugar-singh acted as regent for a time during his cousin's suspension from power, but on Udai-singh's restoration he took refuge in Jammu. There he entered the service of Dharab-Deo, Rāja of Jammu, as a soldier, without disclosing his identity. One day as he was returning from bathing in the river Tawī, with a *lota* full of water in his hand, he was met by a *mast* elephant which had broken loose, and which, seeing Ugar-singh, suddenly charged down upon him. He checked the animal for a moment by a blow with the *lota*, and thus gained time to draw his sword, with which he severed the trunk from the body at one blow. The feat was reported to the Rāja, who summoned Ugar-singh to his presence, and elicited from him the fact of his near relationship to the ruling family of Chamba. He seems in fact to have been next in the succession after the two sons of Chatar-singh, his uncles Jai-singh and Indar-singh having probably died childless.

Shortly afterwards intelligence of the assassination of Udai-singh and his brother arrived, and Dharab-Deo then furnished Ugar-singh with all necessary assistance, and sent him back to Chamba where he was installed as Rāja.

It is said that the ghost of the murdered Rāja used to appear to Ugar-singh, and cause him much distress, and that to lay the evil spirit he erected a temple at Udaipur, near the place of the murder, and imposed a small tax for its maintenance. The temple is still in existence and the tax, called Tirsera Udai-singhiāna Antariāna is still collected.

Shortly after his accession, Ugar-singh had his suspicions aroused against his cousin, Dalel-singh, son of Raghunāth-singh, who was then a boy, residing with his maternal uncle in Jammu territory; and the Mughal Viceroy on being appealed to, had Dalel-singh brought to Lahore and kept in confinement.

Ugar-singh was popular at first, but as years went on the feelings of the officials towards him underwent a change, and they decided to depose him and raise Dalel-singh to the *qaddī*. Their first step was to gain over the Viceroy by a present of a lakh of rupees, whereby Dalel-singh's release was secured, also a *sanad* appointing him Rāja of Chamba. This appointment was supported by a force of Mughal troops. On hearing of Dalel-singh's approach, Ugar-singh made no effort to oppose him, but broke down the bridge over the Rāvī, and set fire to the town. He then retired to the Chāmunda Temple, whence he watched the conflagration and thereafter fled up the Rāvī Valley. When passing the village of Juh in Chanota, he was wounded in the thigh by a bullet fired by the Rāna of Gurola, and the spot where this happened has been marked by a small shrine ever since. Ugar-singh then fled to Kāngra, where he soon afterwards died. The *jaḡīr* of Dūn and Nādāun granted to Rāja Prithvī-singh was resumed in his reign owing to unfaithfulness. He left two sons, Umed-singh and Sher-singh, who were then quite

young.

Dalel-singh (A.D. 1735).—Having secured the *gaddi* the new Rājā's first care was to have Ugar-singh's sons placed under lock and key in Lahore, where they remained for thirteen years. Dalel-singh also rewarded those who had helped him to obtain the kingdom, and made himself popular by remitting various oppressive taxes.

Nevertheless the sons of Ugar-singh, as the rightful heirs to the throne, had many friends and supporters among the people, who only waited for a suitable opportunity to restore them. In spite of every effort, however, it was found impossible for some time to effect their release, but at length this was secured through a servant of Umed-singh, belonging to the Katwālu family in Chamba. This young man was of the same age as his master, and strongly resembled him in appearance; and, the two having exchanged clothes, Umed-singh escaped, the servant remaining in his place. When the deception was discovered the man was brought before the Mughal Viceroy, who asked him why he had thus forfeited his life. For answer he said that he had only done his duty to his master, and was ready to bear the penalty. The Viceroy was so pleased with this reply, and with the man's fidelity and devotion, that he ordered his release, and dismissed him with presents. But Umed-singh did not succeed in escaping after all, for he was recaptured, and brought back to Lahore. On enquiry, however, the Viceroy became acquainted with the fact that he was the rightful heir to the Chamba *gaddi*, and a *sanad* was therefore granted, along with an armed force, to enable him to recover his territory. Being married to a daughter of the Rājā of Jasrota. Umed-singh came by way of Jasrota and Basohli, obtaining further assistance from these Chiefs. Dalel-singh was urged by his officials to prepare for resistance, but he refused to do so, saying that Umed-singh was the lawful heir, and he would not oppose his claim. He accordingly remained at the capital, and on Umed-singh's arrival surrendered the State into his hands, and was kindly dealt with. For a time he continued to reside in Chamba, but afterwards became a *sādhū*, and died at Jawālamukhi. He left no son, and his daughter was married to Bajai-Deo of Jammu.

Umed-singh—(A.D. 1748).—This Rājā was a just ruler and an able administrator. He succeeded to the State at a very momentous period in India history. Th Mughal Empire was now in the throes of dissolution; the Viceroys of the provinces were assuming independence, and the Marāthas and Afghans had begun their life and death struggle for the mastery of India. All paramount authority was thus at an end, and the Hill Chiefs, taking advantage of the anarchy which prevailed, threw off their allegiance, and recovered all the territory of which they had been deprived by the Mughals. A

¹ *Autar* is an abbreviation of *A putra*, meaning one dying without a son to succeed him and is believed to become an evil spirit.

² The real name was Diler-singh, as in the Mughal *sanads* of his reign.

large and fertile district of the Chamba State, to the south of the Dhaula Dhār, had been thus confiscated; Umed-singh re-asserted his sway over it, and carried his victorious army along the southern slopes of the range as far as the borders of Mandī. His troops garrisoned the fort of Pathiār near Pālampur, and he is said to have obtained a footing in Bīr Bangāhal. In the Kāngra Settlement Report, Mr. Barnes refers to a letter from the Emperor Ahmad Shāh to the Chamba Chief, remonstrating with him on the seizure of Chari and Rihlu. The letter is still in the State archives but is from Ahmad Shah Durāni. It is dated in A.D. 1762 and it must have been between 1750 and 1760 that the State territory to the south of the Dhaula Dhār was restored to its ancient limits. It probably took place previous to A.D. 1752, for in that year Mughal supremacy entirely ceased with the cession of the Hill States, along with the rest of the Punjab, to Ahmad Shāh Durāni. But Afghan rule was never more than nominal in the Hills to the east of the Jhelum, and Chamba seems to have enjoyed practical independence till about A.D. 1767. When it came more or less under the influence of the Sikhs.¹

The Khandchandi portion of the palace, which is still in existence, was erected by Umed-singh, and he also built a palace at Nadā, eight miles down the Rāvī Valley, changing the name of the place to Rājnagar. There his son, Rāj-singh, was born in A.D. 1755. Only one gateway of this building now remains.²

Umed-singh died on the 13th of Baisākh, Vik. 1820—A.D. 1764, in the 39th year of his age, and the 16th of his reign. He left orders that no rānī was to become *sañī* at his funeral.

Rāj-singh—(A.D. 1764).—He was only nine years old at the time of his father's death, and Umed-singh, being suspicious of the designs of his younger brother, Sher-singh, had left secret orders that, immediately on his own decease, Sher-singh should be arrested and kept under restraint. This was done, and all danger was thus averted.

Soon after this, Ghamand-chand of Kāngra, taking advantage of Rāj-singh's minority, seized the fort of Pathiār, and drove the Chamba troops out of Bīr-Bangāhal, but the queen-regent, who was a Jammu princess, obtained help from Ranjīt-Deo of that State, and recovered the territory which had been lost. It would appear, however, that another and more successful attempt was made by the Kāngra Chief, for all the State territory to the east of Rihlu was lost to Chamba prior to the death of Rāj-singh.

¹ For a short time in 1758 all the Hill States, and even the Mughal Governor of Kangra, were subject to Adina Beg Khan, Viceroy of the Punjab under the Marathas.

² The foundations of the Rang Mahal at Chamba are also said to have been laid by this Raja.

³ The vernacular Bansauli State that the *jagīr* granted to Raja Prithvi-singh was resumed in Umed-singh's reign. It really was lost by Raja Ugar-singh's disobedients.

Ranjit-Deo of Jammu seems to have interfered a great deal in Chamba affairs during the minority of Rāj-singh, owing to his near relationship to the Rāja's mother. He probably aimed at bringing the State entirely under his own supremacy. On the decline of Mughal rule, Ranjit-Deo had also become practically independent, and, not content with his own ancestral possessions, had asserted his sway over all the Hill States between the Chenab and the Rāwī. As has been stated, his influence was felt as far east as Chamba where he had appointed one of his own officials, named Aklu, to the office of Wazīr. While the queen-mother lived things remained quiet but she died soon after Rāj-singh came of age, and, her influence being withdrawn, the young prince—who disliked Aklu, and probably suspected secret designs against the State had him seized and thrown into prison. This was resented as a personal insult by Ranjit-Deo, who sent an army under Amrit Pāl of Basohli to invade Chamba.¹ Rāj-singh was absent at the time, having gone to interview the Viceroy of the Punjab² at Kalanaur. He heard of the invasion at Nurpur on his way back, and at once sent to the Rāngarhia Sardars to ask assistance, for which he paid a lakh of rupees. With their help he drove out the Jammu army after it had been in possession of his capital for three months. This took place in A.D. 1775, and is the first reference to the Sikhs in the State annals.

Durāni rule, which had always been intermittent, came to an end in the Central and Eastern Punjab after the last invasion at Ahmad Shāh in A.D. 1767. The Sikhs then rapidly acquired political power, and their marauding bands roamed about the country, intent only on plunder and rapine. They had by this time formed themselves into the twelve misls, or confederacies which preceded their consolidation into one kingdom under Ranjit-singh. One of these was the Rāngarhia *misl* and Jassa-singh, the head of this confederacy, seems to have been the first Sikh leader to invade the Kāngra Hills. About A.D. 1770 he made tributary to himself Ghamand-chand of Kāngra, and several other Hill States, one of which was probably Chamba. This is, in all likelihood, the reason why Rāj-singh went to him for help against Jammu. His authority was, however, of brief duration, for in A.D. 1776 he was defeated on the plains by Jai-singh, of the Kanhiya *misl*, who then assumed the suzerainty of most of the Kāngra group of State. In the Kāngra Settlement Report, Mr. Barnes refers to a document in his name fixing the amount of tribute payable by Chamba at 4,001 rupees.

Rāj-singh was married to a daughter of Sampat-pāl of Bhadravāh, and his son, Jit-singh, was born in A.D. 1775.

¹ There is a copper-plate in existence granted by Amrit Pal on this occasion in place of one which had been lost. It is dated Vik. 1831—A.D. 1775.

² Probably Khwaja Obed, the Afghan Viceroy.

¹In A.D. 1782 Rāj-singh invaded and conquered Basohli but restored the country on payment of a lakh of rupees, the amount he had paid for the assistance of the Sikhs against Basohli and Jammu.² Bhadrawāh was at this time tributary to Chamba, as it probably had been for a considerable period. It was, however, under its own native ruler, whose name was Daya-pāl.

In A.D. 1786 Chamba also asserted its supremacy over the Native State of Kashtwār on, it is said, the invitation of Brij-rāj-Deo of Jammu; and an army under Jīt-singh, son of Rāj-singh, then only eleven years old, was sent to invade the territory. In this it was successful, and Kashtwār was conquered and held for six months, during which the Chamba troops remained in the capital. They seem to have been withdrawn on the approach of winter, and the return of the Kashtwār Chief from Kashmīr, whither he had fled, with an army provided by the Durāni rulers, who then held the valley.

Meanwhile events fraught with disastrous consequences to the Chamba Chief were ripening in Kāngra. On the decline of the Mughal Empire, Ghamand-chand of Kāngra resumed possession of that portion of the Kāngra Valley which had been included in the Imperial demense, and also made strenuous efforts to capture the Fort in which he was not successful. This famous stronghold was held by Nawāb Saif Ali Khān, the last of the Mughal Governors of the Kāngra Hills, who, we are told, continued to correspond directly with Delhi. Though completely isolated, and possessing nothing but the lands immediately beneath the walls, this brave officer contrived to hold his own against all assailants for forty years. In A.D. 1775 Sansār-chand, grandson of Ghamand-chand, succeeded to the kingdom of Kāngra. His great ambitions was to capture Kāngra Fort, and he redoubled his efforts to regain possession of the ancient capital of his kingdom. Being still unsuccessful, he in 1781 called in to his help Jai-singh Kaulhiya, the Sikh Chieftain already referred to, and a force was sent under his son, Gurbakhsh-singh. The old Nawab was then still alive but dangerously ill and on his demise the garrison was persuaded to capitulate but, much to Sansār-chand's chagrin and disappointment, the capitulation was made to the Sikhs and not to himself. Jai-singh thus got possession of the stronghold and retained it till A.D. 1785-86; when, being defeated on the plains by a combination against him, aided by Sansār-chand, he withdrew from the hills, leaving Kāngra Fort in the hands of its legitimate Chief, to whom it was thus restored about a century and a half after its occupation by the Mughals.

² This is the correct spelling of the Bhadrawar of the Maps.

¹ The date of the conquest of Basohli is recorded on a stone in the pavement in front of the Lakshmi Narayana Temple at Chamba.

¹ The Hararis or Mughal gunners from Delhi had arranged to surrender the fort to Sansar-chand for a reward, but Jai-singh heard of this and his troops being nearest the gate, entered first, and kept possession.

With the recovery of the fort,¹ and the withdrawal of the Sikhs from the hills, Sansar-chand was left at liberty to prosecute his ambitious designs. He revived the ancient claim of Kāngra to the headship of the eleven States of the Jālandhar group, which had been in abeyance in the Mughal times, and arrogated to himself supreme authority over the Chiefs. He compelled them to pay tribute, encroached upon their territories, and seized by force all the lands which had been included in the imperial demesne. In pursuance of this claim he demanded of Rāj-singh the surrender of the Rihlu *ilāqa*, as having been part of the Kāngra kār-dārī under the Mughals. This demand was met by a prompt refusal, and, seeing a conflict inevitable, Rāj-singh began at once to prepare for war. He went in person to Rihlu, and repaired and strengthened the fort, which was garrisoned by his own troops. Meantime Sansār-chand was not slow to support his demand by armed force. He concluded a treaty with Dhillon-singh, Wazir of Guler, who, in those unsettled times, had seized the small State of Kotila, between Kāngra and Nurpur, and had made himself independent. Rāj-singh obtained help from Nurpur. The Chamba army was disposed in various directions along the frontiers, keeping watch and ward, while Rāj-singh himself was at Nertī near Shāhpur; with the Nurpur levies and a small force of his own troops. Sansār-chand, getting intelligence of this, advanced secretly, and fell suddenly upon the Chamba force, which was taken completely by surprise. The Nurpur levies fell into a panic and fled, leaving with the Rāja only forty-five of his own men. His officers urged him to make a retreat, pointing out to him the hopelessness of effecting a stand against such superior numbers, but he refused to do so, saying it would be a disgrace to retire when confronted by the enemy. His personal attendants and servants first fell around him, and then the Rāja himself was wounded in the thigh by a bullet. Still he bravely fought on, killing many of his opponents and performing prodigies of valour. At last a man named Jit-singh,¹ Purbea came from behind, and struck him on the head with a sword. Rāj-singh wiped away the blood, and then, resting his hand on a large stone near which he was standing, fell dead. The impress of the blood-stained hand is believed to be still visible on the stone. A temple was erected on the spot by his son, at which a *melā* is held every year on the anniversary of his death. Rāj-singh's bravery on this occasion is still commemorated in song by the local bards throughout these mountains. He is said to have

¹ Kangra Fort was in former times regarded as impregnable, and the popular conception of the prestige attaching to its possession found expression in the saying:—

"He who holds the Fort, holds the Hills" Vide Kangra Settlement Report, p. 10.

¹ This man's name is given differently in different accounts of the battle. In one it is Amar-singh, Hazari, and he is said to have been one of four brothers present, one of whom was killed by Raj-singh.

paid special veneration to Chāmunda Devī,² the Goddess of War of the Chamba Chiefs, and was promised by her an addition of twelve years to his life, and the honour of dying in battle as he desired.

Rāj-singh died on the 7th Hār, Vik. 1850—A.D. 1794; in the 40th year of his age, and the 30th of his reign. When his body was examined it was found to bear no fewer than eighteen wounds.³

As already stated the possession of Chnrāh, in whole or in part, was the standing cause of dispute between Chamba and Basohli. It had changed hands more than once in the early centuries and in later times the dispute was limited chiefly to the two *ilāqas* of Jundh and Bhalai, adjoining the Basohli boundary. These were made over to Sangrām-pāl of Basohli by Prithvī-singh in 1641 and a *sanad* for their restoration to Chamba was granted by the Mughal Viceroy in 1648. They had perhaps been given only as security for repayment of the cost of the contingent sent by Basohli and Sangrām-pāl wanted to retain them permanently. However this may have been, they were recovered in 1666 by Chatar-singh. Rāja Ugar-singh again lost them about 1730 owing to some act of disloyalty, but they were restored in 1758 to Rāja Umed-singh, by another *sanad* of the Mughal Viceroy. The next attempt to recover the territory was in the early part of Rāj-singh's reign about 1774, by Anritpāl of Basohli, aided by Jammu and the last in 1794 after Rāj-singh's death.

Jit-singh—(A.D. 1794).—Notwithstanding the death of the Rāja the Chamba troops continued to maintain their hold on Rihlu, and there was no more fighting.⁴ Sansār-chand secured only a few villages on the border. Jit-singh was nineteen years of age at the time of his father's death; and shortly after his accession he was involved in a war with Basohli. Bijāi-pāl of that State was in the habit of making inroads into the Jundh and Bhalai *ilāqas* of Chamba, which adjoined his own territory, and of plundering the country. In A.D. 1800 Jit-singh retaliated by invading Basohli, and after conquering the State, restored it, as his father had done on payment of a war indemnity. Sometime after this the Chamba Chief was desirous of visiting the shrine of Devī Mal in Balor, but the Rājas of Basohli, Bhadu and Rāmnagar, suspecting that he had designs against them, sent a *nazarana* of Rs. 50,000, with a request to him to turn back, which he accordingly did.

² Raj-singh repaired or rebuilt the Chamunda Temple, and the steps leading up to it were also made by him.

³ Raj-singh's body was cremated at Rihlu Fort, and his rani became *sati* in Chamba.

⁴ Sansar-chand is said to have given orders that Raj-singh should be taken prisoner and the Raja's death caused him much concern. This may partly account for the sudden cessation of hostilities: a copper-plate exists recording a treaty of amity and friendship between Raj-singh and Sansar-chand, dated Vik. 1845—A.D. 1788.

¹Meanwhile Sansār-chand had been engaged in still further consolidating and extending his power, and with the acquisition of Fort Kāngra, he was able to exercise a tyrannical and oppressive sway over all the Hill States between the Rāwī and the Satluj. These he made entirely subject, and compelled the Chiefs to attend his Court, and send contingents for his military expeditions. In this way he fully established his power in the hills, and ruled despotically for twenty years, gaining for himself a renown which had never been approached by any of his ancestors; and his name is still widely known throughout these mountains. But his overweening ambition carried him too far. Not content with what he had acquired in the hills, he aimed also at the recovery of his ancestral possessions on the plains, which had been lost after the invasions of Mahmud of Ghaznī; and is said even to have dreamt of a Katoch kingdom in the Punjab. For this purpose he twice descended from the mountains into the Bāri Doāb, but was driven back by Ranjīt-singh, who was then rising into power, and would brook no rival. This was in A.D. 1803 and A.D. 1804. Disappointed in his designs on the plains, Sansār-chand, in A.D. 1805, turned his arms against the State of Bilāspur, and seized part of the territory lying on the right bank of the Satluj. This was the last straw; and the Hill Chiefs, smarting under the many indignities heaped upon them, and fearing probably for their own possessions, formed a general confederacy against him, the ultimate result of which was his downfall, and the complete extinction of his kingdom.

Previous to A.D. 1803 the Gurkhas of Nepāl had invaded and annexed the mountain area between the Gogra and the Satluj, and Bilāspur was subject to them. The Rāja of that State, in conjunction with all the associated States of the Jālandhar Circle, and also Basohli, sent to invite Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander, to invade Kāngra, and promised him their support. This invitation was eagerly accepted, and the Gurkha army at once crossed the Satluj, and was met by contingents from the Confederate States. This was in the spring of A.D. 1806. Natliu, Wazīr of Chamba, was sent in charge of the State troops. The Kāngra forces, which had been weakened by recent changes, made a brave but ineffectual resistance, and the Gurkhas then advanced into the heart of the country and laid siege to Kāngra Fort, in which Sansār-chand had taken refuge. The fort was invested for four years, but all the efforts of the Gurkhas were unequal to the task of reducing it. At length, rendered desperate by the misery and distress which had come upon his country and seeing no hope of relief, Sansār-chand, in A.D. 1809, sent Fateh-chand, his younger brother, to ask the aid of Ranjīt-singh. This request was readily granted, but on condition that the Kāngra fort should

¹ *Vide* Kangra Settlement Report, page 10.

be surrendered; and to this Sansār-chand had to agree. The Mahārāja then advanced into the hills in person, in May, A.D. 1809, and being met at Jwalamukhi by Sansār-chand, who had escaped from the fort in disguise, he in August gave battle to the Gurkhas, defeated them, and compelled them to retire across the Satluj. According to agreement Ranjīt-singh then took possession of the fort, and with it the 66 villages in the Kāngra Valley which had formed a part of the Imperial demesne, leaving the rest of the Kāngra State in the hands of Sansār-chand, who was now reduced to the position of a feudatory of the Sikhs.¹ His downfall involved that of the other States, and from A.D. 1809 all of them, including Chamba, became tributary to Lahore.

Jīt-singh died in A.D. 1808, while the siege of the Kāngra Fort was still going on, in the 33rd year of his age and the 14th of his reign. He lived in troublous times, and a large army had to be maintained for the defence of the State, but he managed his affairs with such prudence that the revenues sufficed for all expenses, and the State was never in debt. His sons were Charat-singh and Zorawar-singh.

Charat-singh—(A.D. 1808).—He was only six years old at the time of his father's death, but the State official seated him on the *gaddī*, and installed him as Rāja. During Charat-singh's minority the administration was in the hands of the queen-mother, a Jammu princess, and of Nathu, a member of the Baratru family, who had been appointed Wazīr in the reign of Jīt-singh. The queen-mother, whose name was Rānī Sarda, was a wise and far-seeing woman. She erected the temple of Rādha-Krishna, which was consecrated on the 14th of Baisākh, Vik. 1882—A.D. 1825. It was she, too, who caused the steps to be made to the Rānī's shrine alongside the water-course on the Shāh Madār Hill. Nathu, the Wazīr, also seems to have been a man of great ability and administrative talent. His name is still remembered in Chamba, where he is spoken of with great respect. The first event of importance after the accession of the young Chief was a threatened invasion of the Sikhs under Ranjīt-singh. He had reduced Jasrota and Basohli, in the Jammu Hills, to the position of tributaries, and was advancing on Chamba, when he was bought off by large presents. This was in A.D. 1808-09. The State soon afterwards became subject to Lahore but remained almost completely free from actual invasion, though threatened with it more than once. This immunity was due in part to the mountainous and difficult character of the country, but also in a considerable degree to the personal influence, and great sagacity, of Nathu, the Wazīr, who was a favourite with the Mahārāja.

As already mentioned, the small State of Bhadrawāh had long

¹ Sansar-chand died in December, 1823, and in 1827-28 his kingdom was annexed by Ranjit-singh.

been tributary to Chamba, and was ruled by its own Chief, whose name at this time was Daya-pāl.¹ Towards the end of his reign internal family quarrels arose in Bhadrawāh, and Daya-pāl was driven out, and died in Dinanagar. Pahār-chand, his cousin, succeeded, in the absence of a direct heir, and after some years he, in A.D. 1820, refused to continue the payment of tribute to Chamba. Nathu, Wazīr, advanced against him, but was defeated on the Padārī Pass. He then went to Ranjīt-singh, and obtaining help from him, with a *sanad* of transfer, advanced a second time in A.D. 1821. The Rāja of Bhadrawāh, finding resistance hopeless, partly demolished a fort recently erected, and fled, never to return. Bhadrawāh was then annexed to the Chamba State, and placed under the direct control of its officials.

In A.D. 1821, Desa-singh, Majīthia,² in the name of Ranjīt-singh, claimed Rihlu, as having been a part of the Kāngra kārđāri under the Empire, and laid siege to the fort. Nathu sent orders to the officer in command to hold out till he should proceed to Lahore, and arrange the matter with the Mahārāja; but the queen-mother, becoming afraid of the consequences of further resistance, directed the fort to be surrendered to the Sikhs. Rihlu thus passed away finally from the possession of the State. Nathu went to Lahore, but failed in his mission, in so far as the retention of Rihlu was concerned, but he succeeded in persuading Ranjīt-singh to give back Ranitar, a small place in Rihlu, which had been the hereditary jāgīr of the Rānīs of the Chamba family. He also secured the remission of the yearly tribute of Rs. 30,000, in consideration of the loss of Rihlu. Mr. Vigne states that Chamba agreed to the surrender of Rihlu on condition of being allowed to retain Bhaddrawāh, and the fact of a *sanad* having been granted by Ranjīt-singh in A.D. 1820, conveying Bhadrawāh to Chamba seems to lend support to this version. This *sanad*, as we shall see, helped to save the State from dismemberment and practical annexation to Jammu.

In A.D. 1815 Bīr-singh of Nurpur, brother-in-law of Charat-singh, was expelled from his principality by Ranjīt-singh, and fled to Chamba. There he raised an army to attempt the recovery of his State, and, being defeated, sought refuge in British territory across the Satluj. In A.D. 1826 he returned to Nurpur in disguise, and his people rallied around him, but on the approach of a Sikh force he again retired to Chamba; and having been given up under compulsion by Charat-singh, he was imprisoned for seven years in the fort of Govindgarh. Thereafter he was ransomed by the Chamba Chief for Rs. 85,000 and returned to Chamba, where he resided off and

¹ Fateh-pal and Bhup-chand, the fathers, respectively, of Daya-pal and Pahar-chand, were prisoners in the Pakki Chauk or old palace at Chamba and died there. Pahar-chand's mother was a Chamba princess.

² Desa-singh was the first Sikh nazim or Governor of Kangra. The Rihlu Fort was surrendered on 2nd Har S. 97—A.D. 1821.

and on for some time. He was in Chamba at the time of Mr. Vigne's visit in 1839, and, finally, died at Nurpur in 1846, while engaged in a last vain attempt to recover his principality.

In A.D. 1820-25 Ratanu, the Palasra, or Chief State Official in Pādar, invaded Zanskar, and made it tributary to Chamba. It had till then been under its own Rāja, who was subject to Ladākh.¹

In A.D. 1835 Gulāb-singh of Jammu sent an army under Wazīr Zorāwar-singh, Kahlūria, one of his ablest generals, to invade and conquer Ladākh. After the conquest a force under Wazīr Lakhpat Rai was detached from the main army to annex Zanskar, which still held out, and having done this the force crossed the Umāsī Pass and passed through Pādar on the way back to Jammu. It is believed that Gulāb-singh had no intention of encroaching on State territory, but the Pādar people were suspicious, and some opposition was offered to the passage of the Dogra army. This, however, did not amount to much, and the main body passed on, leaving only about thirty men in Chatargarh to keep up communications.² Thereupon Ratanu, the Chamba official, stirred up the people, seized the Dogra soldiers, and sent them to Chamba. Charat-singh at once disowned the act of his official, but the mischief had been done, and in the spring of 1836 Zorāwar-singh came in person with a large force to avenge the insult. Ratanu had the bridge over the Chandra-bhāga broken down, and in this way kept the Dogras at bay for three months, but at last having with the help of some villagers passed a jhula across the river a few miles lower down, Zorāwar-singh succeeded in transferring a portion of his force to the other bank, and thus, advancing under cover of night, effected an entrance into Chatargarh by the bridge over the Bhutna Nāla, which had been left intact. Chatargarh was razed to the ground and the name of the place changed to Gulābgarh; and several of the Pādar people were hanged or mutilated. The country was then annexed to Jammu.¹

It was in Pādar that a sapphire mine was discovered in 1880 which has been a source of considerable gain to the Jammu State.

Ratanu whose excess of loyalty had caused all the trouble, fled to Chamba, but he was seized and sent to Jammu, where he was confined for some years. He was then released and allotted a small *jāgīr* in Kashtwār, which is still held by his family, who, however, have now been permitted to return to their original home in Pādar. It is told of him that, on learning of Charat-singh's death, he shaved his head and beard as a sign of mourning, and on hearing of this,

¹ The tribute is said to have been Rs. 1,000 yearly, besides musk bags and other things.

² Twenty men with a thanadar had been left at Padam in Zanskar, but they were all killed in an outbreak; and it was probably on hearing this that Ratanu attacked the small force in Chatargarh.

¹ The right bank of the Ganaur Nala in Pangi was seized at the same time, and included in Pādar.

Gulāb-singh sent for him. In reply to the Rāja's inquiry, Ratanu is reported to have answered that Charat-singh of Chamba was his master and that he was bound to go into mourning on such an occasion. Gulāb-singh was so pleased with his boldness and patriotic feeling that he was at once forgiven.

In 1836 a Dogra army, under Zorāwar-singh, Kahluria, advanced against Bhadrawāh, but the fort was strongly held by the Chamba troops, while another force was advancing from Chamba to their support, and the Dogras had therefore to retire.

Wazīr Nathu died about 1838, and his death was a great loss to the State, which he had served so faithfully for more than 40 years. He is said to have stood high in the favour of Maharāja Ranjit-singh, on account of important personal service rendered on the occasion of the first invasion of Kashmir in 1814, which ended disastrously for the Sikhs. This personal influence with the Maharāja stood the State in good stead at several grave junctures.

He was succeeded by Wazīr Bhāga, also a member of the Baratru family. It was soon after this, in February, 1839, that Chamba was for the first time visited by a European in the person of Mr. Vigne. He came by Basohli and Sandhāra and departed by Chuāri and Nurpur. He speaks of Charat-singh as "not tall, inclined to corpulency, with a full face, light complexion, good profile and a large eye, a somewhat heavy expression and a weak voice." Of Zorāwar-singh he remarks that "he is not so corpulent as his brother, with very handsome, but inexpressive features, and is always splendidly dressed à la Sikh with a chelenk of rubies and emeralds worn on the forehead over the turban." The Rāja's travels, he states, had never extended beyond Chenini, whither he went to claim and carry off his bride, a daughter of the Rāja of that place. As regards the daily routine, Mr. Vigne says; "The Rāja passes his time very monotonously, devoting a great part of every morning to his *pūja*; then follows the breakfast and the long siesta. He then gives a short attention to business, and afterwards he and his brother ride up and down the "green" on an elephant, between two others, in the centre of a line of a dozen well-mounted horsemen."¹

Zorāwar-singh, the Rāja's younger brother, is still remembered in Chamba, and the people love to dwell upon the cordiality and affection which existed between the two brothers. Charat-singh never went to Lahore himself, but always sent Zorāwar-singh instead, and in 1833 he was raised to the dignity of Rāja of Bhadrawāh and was then spoken of as "Chota Rāja." Possibly this title had some association with the ancient designation of "Yuvarāja," and, till the birth of Sri-Singh in 1839, Zorāwar-singh must have been regarded as heir-apparent to the *gaddi*. This probably was at the bottom of the trouble which, as we shall see, arose after Charat-singh's death.

Mr. Vigne met Bīr-singh of Nurpur at Chamba, and heard the

¹ Travels in Kashmir, Vol. I. pages 150-59.

story of his misfortunes from his own lips. Bir-singh's anxiety to regain his dominions was evident in every sentence he uttered. In the same year, 1839, Chamba was visited by General Cunningham, who was the first to examine the archæological remains in the State, at the capital and Brahmaur.

Charat-singh was afflicted with a form of melancholia which cast a cloud over the last two or three years of his life. He died in 1844 in the 42nd year of his age, having occupied the *gaddi* for 36 years. Two *rānīs* and six concubines became *sati*, this being the last occasion of such rite in Chamba. He left three sons. Sri-singh, Gopāl-singh and Suchet-singh all of whom were mere children at the time of their father's death.

Sri-singh—(A.D. 1844).—He was only five years of age on his accession, and all authority remained in the hands of his mother, who was a Katoh princess, while Bhāga continued to hold the office of Wazīr. Some suspicion had been aroused in regard to Zorāwar-singh, the young Rāja's uncle, and the queen-mother tried to have him arrested and imprisoned, but he easily escaped, and there was a disturbance in the capital. Zorāwar-singh, however, seems to have been unable to gain any support among the people, and immediately fled to Bhadravāh, of which he was titular Rāja. Thence he went to Jammu, and died there soon afterwards, in 1845. His son, Prākīm-singh, was then made Rāja of Bhadravāh, but that State was annexed in the same year by Gulāb-singh of Jammu.¹

Soon after Sri-singh was seated on the *gaddi* an incident occurred which, in less fortunate circumstances might have ended disastrously for the State. The facts of the case are thus related. There was in State service a Brahman, of Basohli, contractor, went by the name of Lakar Shāh. He was a relative of Pundit Jalla, who with Hīra-singh, son of Dhiān-singh of Jammu, at the time wielded supreme power in Lahore. This man seems to have acted an agent of the Sikh Government, and managed to acquire so much influence in Chamba that the whole State administration was virtually in his hands. In his time, and by his orders, a new issue of the Chamba copper coin was made, and is still called Lakar-Shāhi, after him. The State officials resented his arrogance, and took counsel with the Rānī to have him put out of the way. Accordingly he was set upon one day, seized, bound and carried up the Saho Valley, and over to Bailj, where he was killed. Bhāga Wazīr, and two of the State officials then went to Lahore to try to pacify Hīra-singh and avert the consequences of their act; but Pandit Jalla had them cast into prison, and sent an army to invade Chamba. One division came by Chun and Sandhāra, and on its approach the Rānī took Sri-singh and fled up the Rāvī Valley to Basu. The capital was captured and looted by the Sikhs. Another Sikh force advanced by Nurpur, but the Chamba troops in

¹ It is probable that Bhadravāh had come more or less under the control of Jammu some time previous to this.

Tāragarh Fort kept them at bay, and prevented their coming farther than Jājri. The Ganeshgarh Fort was taken by a Sikh force from Kotila. Things were looking very dark for the State when news arrived of the assassination of Hira Singh and Pandit Jalla by the soldiery in Lahore, on the 21st December, A.D. 1844; whereupon the invading armies at once windrew. Wazīr Bhāga and his companions were also set at liberty, and returned to Chamba.

The disorders in the Punjab, which followed the death of Maharāja Ranjīt-singh, were now fast approaching a crisis, and the following year, 1845, broke out the First Sikh War, which ended so disastrously for the Sikh kingdom. On its conclusion the treaty of peace, as finally arranged, included the transfer to the British Government in perpetual sovereignty of the Jālandhar Doāb and the hill country between the Biās and the Satluj. A war indemnity of a crore and a half of rupees was also stipulated for. The Sikh Darbār, being unable to meet this demand, agreed to cede the hilly and mountainous country between the Biās and the Indus as the equivalent of one crore promising to pay the remainder in cash. This treaty was concluded on 9th March, 1846. On the 16th of March, following a separate treaty was entered into between the British Government and Gulāb-singh of Jammu, transferring to him in perpetual possession all the hilly and mountainous country between the Rāvī and the Indus, including Chamba, on his agreeing to pay £750,000. This treaty was shortly afterwards modified as regards the boundary on the Rāvī. This river divides the Chamba State into two parts, and a question arose as to whether it was intended to include the whole State in the transfer, or only the portion to the west of the Rāvī. Ultimately an agreement was come to whereby Gulāb-singh acquired *taluka* Lakhanpur in exchange for the Cis-Rāvī portion, and Chamba surrendered all claim to Bhadrawāh, for which it held a *sanad* from Ranjīt-singh, on condition that the territory to the west of the Rāvī should be restored, thus preserving the ancient integrity of the State.¹ Had the provisions of the treaty of 16th March been fully carried out, Chamba would have become an integral part of Jammu territory.² It was saved from this fate by the patriotic zeal and astuteness of Wazīr Bāga, who immediately proceeded to Lahore, laid the matter before Sir Henry Lawrence, and succeeded in securing his sympathy and support, with the result stated. Bhadrawāh thus ceased to be Chamba territory, but the rest of the State was left intact and directly under British control, subject to an annual tribute of Rs. 12,000. A *sanad*,³ dated 6th April, 1848, was granted to Rāja Śrī-singh, conferring the territory

¹ Lakhanpur and Chandgraon are to the west of the Ravi opposite Madhopur, in Jammu territory. They were at the time attached to Nurpur State.

² It is said that a portion of the State adjoining the Jammu border was for a short time in the hands of the Jammu officials.

³ Treaties Engagements and Sanads. Vol. II, No. CXXIX.

of Chamba upon him,⁴ and providing that, failing heirs—made of his own body, the succession should devolve on his elder surviving brother. A more recent *sanad*⁵ grants the right of adoption to the Chamba Chiefs on the failure of direct heirs, and is dated 11th March, 1862.

In 1851 the State Authorities were approached by Government with a view to the establishment of a Sanatorium for Europeans within the territory, and every facility was given for this purpose. A site was selected on the western extremity of the Dhaulā Dhār by the late Lord Napier of Magdāla, then Colonel Napier. After the necessary observations as to climate had been made, Government sanction was given in A.D. 1853 to the transfer of certain plateaux from the Chamba State, viz., Katalagh, Potrain, Terah, Bakrota and Bhangor, in consideration of which a reduction of Rs. 2,000 was made in the amount of the tribute annually payable by the State. On the recommendation of the late Sir Donald McLeod the new Sanatorium was named Dalhousie. In A.D. 1866 the Bahm plateau was also taken over for the Convalescent Depot for European troops, and at the same time the Bakloh plateau was transferred for a Gurkha Cantonment. For these a further reduction of Rs. 5,000 was made in the tribute. More transfers of land to Government have taken place since then, with a relative reduction in the annual tribute, which now stands at Rs. 3,800.

During the Mutiny Srī-singh was loyal to the Government, and rendered every assistance in his power. He sent troops to Dalhousie under the late Mian Antār-singh, and also had a careful watch kept along the frontier for any mutineers who might enter State territory, many of whom were apprehended and made over to the British Authorities.

Wazīr Bhāga retired in 1854, and was succeeded by Wazīr Billu, also of the Baratru family who, with a short break, held office till 1860. There were one or two more changes, each of brief duration, previous to the appointment of a European Superintendent in December, 1862, after which the office of Wazīr was for some years in abeyance.

The administration seems to have become much disorganized during Srī-singh's minority, and when he came of age and took the reigns of government into his own hands, he found it difficult to restore order. He had married a Sukēt princess and the men who came with her gradually usurped all authority, the Chamba officials being unable to make a firm stand against them. The revenue had fallen to about a lakh, and a heavy debt had accumulated, due probably in a measure at least to the exactions under Sikh rule. Finding himself unequal to the task of dealing with the disorder into which affairs had fallen, Srī-singh, in 1862, asked the Punjab Government

⁴ Treaties Engagements and Sanads, Vol. II, No. XVIII.

⁵ The small *jagir* of Ranitar in Rihlu was, however, resumed by Government.

for the services of a British officer. His request was acceded to, and Major Blair Reid was appointed Superintendent, and arrived on 1st January, 1863. In a short time Major Reid effected important and far-reaching reforms. All the useless servants and hangers on about the Court were dismissed; the troops—chiefly of Purbiahs and Pathāns—whose allowances were in arrears, were paid up and discharged; debts of long standing were liquidated, and the State finances placed on a sound footing.

Till then the forts of Tāragarh, Ganeshgarh and Prithvījor had been garrisoned by State troops, and when these were disbanded the garrisons were withdrawn, the arms removed to Chamba, and the forts entrusted to the care of the local State officials.

Major Reid next devoted attention to the development of the internal resources of the State. In a mountainous country like Chamba, where for ages every precaution had to be taken against aggression from without, the routes into the interior were little more than tracks; and the opening up of communications was therefore a matter of the first importance. A Public Works Department under European supervision was organized, new lines of road were surveyed, and their construction was vigorously pushed on from year to year as funds permitted. Even in the isolated valley of Pāngī, communications were much improved, chiefly through the agency of the Forest Department.

In 1863 a Post Office was opened in the capital, and a daily mail service with Dalhousie established and maintained at the cost of the State.

Educational work was begun in the same year by the opening of a Primary School, the nucleus of the present High School.

Realising the great importance of efficient forest conservancy, Major Reid, in 1864, moved the Rāja to transfer the working of the State Forests to Government, and this was effected by a lease (dated 10th September, 1864), for 99 years, subject to revision every 20 years. Under this lease Government agreed to pay the State Rs. 22,000 yearly, and the Forests were thus placed under the direct control of the Imperial Forest Department.

In January, 1865, Major Reid was succeeded by Captain Forbes. Plans for a Residency had already been prepared and the building was completed during his term of office. In June, 1866, Lieutenant E. G. Wace succeeded Captain Forbes till Major Reid's return in December, 1866.

In December, 1866, a Hospital was opened under Doctor Elmslie of the Kashmīr Medical Mission, in connection with the Chamba State. The institution was largely resorted to and much regret was felt when, in March, 1867, Doctor Elmslie returned to his permanent sphere of work in Kashmīr. As no one could be found to take his place, the Hospital was temporarily closed, but was re-opened in February, 1868, under an Assistant Surgeon.

The next two years were marked by the construction of two

entirely new roads to Dalhousie—*via* Molri and Khajjiār, respectively—which not only made the journey easier, but greatly facilitated trade with the plains. Dak Bungalows were opened at Chamba and Khajjiār. Jandra-Ghat, the Rāja's Dalhousie residence, was erected in 1870-71.

Meantime the State continued to prosper, and as a result of stable government the revenue rapidly expanded, till in 1870 it reached Rs. 1,73,000. This substantial increase was not due to additional taxation, on the contrary many vexatious and petty taxes on marriages, traders, etc., were abolished, only the town octroi and bridge tolls being retained. It was due chiefly to the security of land tenure afforded by the granting of leases, whereby the area under cultivation was immensely increased; and with the opening up of communications, high prices were obtained from traders, who with their mules and bullocks were now able to visit the interior of the State for the purchase of grain and other exports.

While these changes were in progress and everything augured well for the future, Rāja Śrī-singh died after a short illness, on the 11th Assuj, 1870, in the 32nd year of his age and the 27th of his reign. Though not well educated he was a wise and sagacious ruler, and had many good qualities both of head and heart. Generous and amiable in character, he was much beloved by his people, and his early death was deeply and sincerely mourned. The various reforms initiated by the Superintendents had his hearty support, for he saw in them the best means of ameliorating the condition of his people and advancing the interests of the State. His only son died in infancy, and his only daughter was married to the present Maharāja of Jammu and Kashmir.

Gopal-singh—(A.D. 1870).—In the absence of a direct heir, Mian Suchet-singh, the younger of the two surviving brothers, laid claim to the *gaddi*, basing his claim on the fact that he was the late Rāja's uterine brother. The *sanad* of 1848 had, however, made provision for the succession, and in accordance with it, Mian Gopal-singh, the elder of the two brothers, was declared the rightful heir. The order of Government directing his recognition as Rāja was notified in open Darbār by Colonel Blair Reid on the 25th October, 1870. Mian Suchet-singh then retired from Chamba, and continued to press his claim for many years, both in India and England, but always with the same result. He died in London in August, 1896, without male heirs.

Like his predecessor, Rāja Gopāl-singh had the assistance of a Political Officer, and Colonel Reid continued in charge. The reforms initiated in the previous reign were pushed on and the revenue continued to increase. Several new lines of road were constructed, and improvements carried out in the capital which added much to its beauty. In 1871 the school was raised to the Middle Standard and a European Headmaster appointed. The Hospital continued to attract an increasing number of patients and proved a great boon to

the people in general; while the other departments of the administration were conducted with regularity and precision.

On 13th November, 1871, Chamba was visited by Lord Mayo, Governor-General of India.

On 5th January, 1872, Colonel Blair Reid proceeded on furlough and Colonel G. A. McAndrew was appointed Superintendent. His term of office was marked by another change in the administration. Rāja Gopāl-singh had little predilection for the cares of government and difficulties began to arise. These reached a climax in the spring of 1873, and finding himself incapable of governing the country, the Rāja in April of that year, abdicated in favour of his eldest son, Tikka Shām-singh, then a boy of seven. A *jāgīr* was assigned him at Manjir with a suitable allowance, and there he lived in retirement until his death in March, 1895. He had three sons Shām-singh, born 8th July, 1866; Bhuri-singh, born 18th December, 1869, and Partāp-singh, born after his abdication.

Rāja Shām-singh—(A.D. 1873).—The young Rāja was installed by General Reynell Taylor, Commissioner of Amritsar, on 7th October, 1873; Mian Autār-singh being appointed Wazīr. In the following January Colonel Blair Reid returned from furlough and resumed political charge of the State. The Rāja being a minor supreme power was vested in the Superintendent and the Wazīr, and their first concern was to make suitable arrangements for the education and training of the young Chief. Along with his brother, the Mian Sahib, he was placed under the care of a competent teacher, and no pains were spared to prepare him for the responsible position he was to fill. In April, 1874, Chamba was visited by Sir Henry Davies, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab; in March, 1875, the Rāja was present at the Imperial Darbār in Delhi; and in 1876 he visited Lahore, with the other Chiefs to meet the Prince of Wales, being the youngest ruling Chief present on that occasion. On 1st January, 1877, he took part in the great Proclamation Darbār at Delhi.

Meanwhile things had been going on quietly and prosperously in the State. Every effort had been made to develop its resources and a fair measure of success had been attained. The revenue now stood at Rs. 2,00,000 and was expanding. A Land Revenue Settlement, begun by Colonel Reid in 1876, resulted in a considerable gain to the State finances. It brought to light a great deal of land which was either very lightly assessed or had entirely escaped observation, thus considerably increasing the area under assessment. On 5th March, 1877, Colonel Blair Reid retired. With three intervals of absence he had been in uninterrupted charge of the State since 1863, and it would be difficult to over-estimate his services. Coming at a crisis in its history he found it in a state of chaos, and on his departure he made over to his successor one of the most prosperous and progressive principalities in the Province, with a full treasury and an administration organized on a sound basis. It may justly be

said that to General Blair Reid the Chamba State is chiefly indebted for the prosperity which it has ever since enjoyed.

Colonel Reid was succeeded by Mr. R. T. Burney, C.S., who did much to still further improve the lines of communication. An entirely new road to Brahminur was completed as far as the 20th mile; but the project was ultimately abandoned owing to the cost which it would have involved. Of the other new roads one was carried from the capital to the Chauāri Pass, and the other to Khajjār.

In 1878 Mian Autār-singh retired from the office of Wazir. In the same year Mr. John Harvey, of the Punjab Educational Department, was appointed tutor to the Rāja, and on his promotion in 1881, the vacancy was filled by the appointment of Mr. G. W. Blathwayt. Under the care of these gentlemen the Rāja made satisfactory progress in his studies and also acquired a taste for many sports in which he greatly excelled.

On 7th October, 1879, Mr. Burney was succeeded by Captain C. H. T. Marshall, who retained charge till November, 1885. Under his officer the roads were still further improved and a new Darbār Hall, which is named after him, was added to the Palace. Hop-growing was introduced in 1880 under European supervision, and the industry prospered and proved remunerative, both to the cultivator and the State. It continued to flourish till 1896, but was ultimately abandoned owing to the difficulties in the process of drying. The Pāngī Valley was found to be specially adapted to hop-culture. Sericulture was also tried but did not prove a success.

In 1881 a Branch Dispensary was opened at Tissa, which proved a great boon to the people of that portion of the State. In the same year a Leper Asylum, commenced by the "Mission to Lepers" in 1876, was taken over by the State, and has ever since been maintained as a State institution. It usually has about 20 inmates.

In February, 1883, the Rāja was married to a grand-daughter of the Maharāja of Jammu and Kashmir, and in the same year to a cousin of the Rāja of Simmur.

In November, 1883, Chamba was visited by Sir Charles Aitchison, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. In May, 1884, the Forest Lease came up for revision on the expiry of the first term of 20 years, and Government agreed to pay two-thirds of the profits to the State during the second term of the lease. The total revenue had now reached Rs. 2,50,000.

As the time drew near for the assumption of full powers the young Chief was initiated into the art of government, for which he showed considerable aptitude. He came of age in July, 1884, and in the following October was invested with full authority as a ruling Chief by Colonel C. A. McMahon, Commissioner of Lahore. Diwan Govind Chand was at the same time advanced to the office of Wazir which had been vacant since 1878. The first year of his rule was uneventful, and on 3rd November, 1885 the entire burden of the administration was transferred to the Rāja by the withdrawal of the

Superintendent.

The Rāja entered on his onerous and responsible duties with zeal and earnestness. Every department was kept under his own control and received his personal attention, and at the end of a year the Commissioner was able to report that "The Rāja's personal interest in the management of his territory is real and its administration is satisfactory."

In January, 1887, a Postal Convention was concluded which brought the State into direct relations with the Imperial Postal System, and resulted in a great expansion of the work of the Postal Department. Till then there had been only a Post Office in the capital, but in that year branch offices were opened at Brahmaur, Lil, Sihunta, Bathri, Tissa, Kibār and Pāngī, thus linking up the different Wazārats of the State. A daily arrival and departure mail service was established in connection with each, except in the case of Pāngī and Brahmaur, where the climate renders this impossible for more than six months in the summer. A special surcharged stamp was also introduced, which had been a source of revenue to the State.

The Judicial Department was reorganised on the British model but adapted to local conditions, civil and criminal appeals going from the subordinate to the higher courts, then to the Wazīr, and finally to the Rāja. In the Police Department the force was increased to 100 constables under the control of an official designated Kotwāl. The Public Works Department was also reorganised and entrusted with the care of the roads and public buildings.

The work of the Medical Department continued to grow under the fostering care of the Rāja, and no expense was spared to secure efficiency. The Hospital buildings, erected by Colonel Reid in 1875, were demolished in 1891 to make way for the present "Shām-singh Hospital," with accommodation for 40 in-patients, and fully furnished with all necessary medical and surgical appliances. The Branch Dispensary opened at Tissa in 1881, continued to attract an increasing number of patients.

Education was also fostered, and the advanced pupils were encouraged to prosecute their studies by the offer of scholarships in Chamba and on the plains.

A small military force was formed; it consisted of 300 infantry and 30 cavalry with 4 guns, and was accommodated in near and substantial barracks erected in the neighbourhood of the town.

Shortly after his investment with full powers the Rāja initiated extensive building operations and other improvements in the capital, which were continued over a series of years. Among these may be mentioned the erection of a new Court-House, Post-Office, Kotwālī, Hospital and Jail. A large part of the main bazar was also rebuilt and the chaugān or public promenade, within the town, levelled and extended, adding much to its attractions.

The Palace, most of which was old, was in a dilapidated condition. Its renovation was undertaken and the greater portion of it

rebuilt. In addition to these improvements by the State, many new houses were erected in the town by private owners, and so great have been the changes in recent years that the capital has been transformed out of recognition, with a corresponding enhancement of its natural beauty.

In 1894 the old wire-suspension bridge over the Rāvī was injured by a flood, and in the following year was replaced by a substantial suspension bridge of iron at a cost of nearly a lakh of rupees.

The year 1895 was marked by an agrarian agitation, which arose in the Bhattiyāt Wazārat, and for a considerable time rendered it difficult for the State Officials to collect the revenue and provide the necessary supply of coolies for State service. As, however, an inquiry into their grievances by the Commissioner of Lahore, proved clearly that there was no good ground for complaint, the ringleaders were arrested and punished and the agitation then subsided.

In January, 1898, Wazir Govind Chand was retired on pension, and the Rāja's brother, Mian Bhuri-singh, was appointed to succeed him. From childhood the two brothers had been greatly attached to each other, and for some years before his appointment as Wazir the Mian Sahib had acted as Private Secretary to the Rāja, and was thus fully conversant with every detail of the administration; and his nomination gave great satisfaction throughout the State. During the disturbances on the North-West Frontier in 1897-98 the State made an offer of a large quantity of grain for the use of the troops. This offer, like others of a similar kind, was declined, but the loyalty to the British Crown which prompted it was fully appreciated and acknowledged by Government.

In September, 1900, the State was honoured by the visit of the Viceroy and Lady Curzon, who spent a week in Chamba. The Viceregal party were accommodated in the Residency, which was tastefully furnished for them, and His Excellency was pleased to express his entire satisfaction with all the arrangements, and his appreciation of the Rāja's efforts to make the visit a pleasant one.

In November, 1901, Sir Macworth Young, Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, included Chamba in his cold weather tour, and expressed his gratification at the efficiency of the administration and the prosperous condition of the State. The revenue had now reached Rs. 4,00,000.

In September, 1902, the Rāja was prostrated by a serious and prolonged illness, which was a cause of great anxiety throughout the State. The illness was all the more unfortunate as preparations were then in progress for the Delhī Coronation Darbār, to which he had been invited. After his restoration to health, the Rāja finding himself unequal to the duties inseparable from his position, addressed Government privately and expressed a strong wish to be permitted to abdicate in favour of his brother, Mian Bhuri-singh. After some delay his abdication was accepted, in deference to his own desire,

and, on 22nd January, 1904, this was notified in open Darbār by the Honourable Mr. A. Anderson, C.I.E., Commissioner of Lahore.

Bhuri-singh—(A.D. 1904).—On May, 1904, Mian Bhuri-singh, C.I.E., was, with all due ceremony, installed as Rāja of Chamba, by Sir Charles Rivaz, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab. For seven years the Mian Sahib had been associated with his brother in the administration, and discharged the duties of Wazīr with such conspicuous ability as to earn the approval of Government. This was shown in 1902 when he had conferred on him the well deserved distinction of a Companionship of the Indian Empire, in recognition of the eminent services he had rendered to the State. His accession to the *gaddi* was thus an event of deep significance. Highly cultured and of mature judgment, with wide administrative experience and an intimate knowledge of the State and its needs, Rāja Bhuri-singh entered on a career of great promise as a Ruling Chief, with every happy augury of prosperity and success.

In 1904 the Forest Lease came up for revision, on the expiry of the second term of 20 years, and Government decided that, after a small deduction as interest on capital all the profits from the working of the Forests should in future be paid over to the State. This resulted in a substantial increase of the revenue, raising it to more than Rs. 6,00,000. Government has now (1907) restored the management of the Forests to the Rāja experimentally for a period of five years, on condition that the management is to be conducted on lines approved by Government.

After his abdication Rāja Shām-singh continued to reside in Chamba in the enjoyment of a liberal allowance. He had not fully recovered from the effects of his severe illness, but was in fair health and nothing untoward was anticipated. His sudden demise on 10th June, 1905, was thus quite unexpected, and caused sincere grief throughout the State. He was in the 39th year of his age, and at the time of his abdication had occupied the *gaddi* for 30 years.

On 1st January, 1906, His Highness the Rāja received from the King-Emperor the distinction of Knighthood in the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India; and this signal mark of favour gave keen gratification to his subjects.

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CONTENTS.

	PAGE
Jaswan State	1
Guler State	11
Siba State	12
Datarpur State	13
Kutlehr State	14
Bangahal State— <i>J. Hutchison</i>	17
The Unpublished Letters of Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala— <i>Jagut Singh</i> ..	29
Serai Nur Mahal— <i>R. B. Pt. Sher Narain</i>	31
Padmavati— <i>A Romance of the Sixteenth Century</i>	50
Review—"Warren Hastings and Philip Francis"—By <i>Sophia Weitzman</i>	
M.A., Ph. D.— <i>The Hon'ble Mr. Justice F. W. Skemp</i>	50

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JASWAN STATE.

Jaswan State occupied a fertile tract in the Jaswan Dun of the outer hills, now in Hoshiarpur District. It was founded by a cadet of the Katoch line about A. D. 1070, whose name is said to have been Puran Chand.

Till then the Kangra State had remained one and undivided and Jaswan was thus the first offshoot from the parent stem. It is not improbable, however, that the State was originally a fief which became independent in the unsettled times following on the Muhammadan invasions. "Many centuries ago," writes Mr. Barnes, "so long ago that all consanguinity has ceased, and intermarriages take place among a people to whom marriage with blood relations is a heinous crime—a member of the Katoch family severed himself from Kangra and set up an independent State in Jaswan."

The capital of the State was at Rajpura and the clan name is Jaswāl.

Little is known about the subsequent history of the State for many centuries, but it is several times mentioned in the histories of the Mughal period.

Like the other hill States it was subject to the Mughals from the time of Akbar. In A. D. 1572, when Raja Jai Chand of Kangra was arrested and sent to Delhi, he, before leaving, put his son, Bidhi Chand, then a minor, in charge of Raja Gobind Chand of Jaswan, who successfully defended the Kangra fort against the Mughal army for some time, till the Mughal commander had to offer him favourable terms of surrender. Gobind Chand "looked on the terms as a stroke of good fortune and was delighted." The Mughals then prepared to march away to oppose the Mirzas, who had invaded the Punjab, and the Raja offered his services and accompanied the army.*

At a later time, in the 35th year of Akbar (A.D. 1588-9), Anirudh Chand of Jaswan, grandson of Gobind Chand, joined the rebellion led by Bidhi Chand of Kangra, embracing almost all the hill States between the Chenab and the Sutlej. On their submission they were all pardoned and had their territories and honours restored.

Jaswan was also involved in the rebellion of A. D. 1594-5. The Mughal army again marched through the hills from Jammu to the Sutlej, and after receiving the submission of all the States that had been in revolt, we are told that "the affairs of the clan of Jaswāl, who are Zamindars with a (common) army, had to

*Badauni states that the Mughal commander patched up a peace with the Hindus and departed. The Mirzas were descended from Timur and aspired to the throne.

be settled. But when they heard of the approach of the royal army and of the reduction of the territories of the Zamindars, all hope of successful resistance was beaten out of them, and they made humble submission."

No further reference to the State occurs in the Muhammadan histories, and we may conclude that it remained loyal, and like other hill States sent contingents to assist the Mughals when called upon to do so.

On the decline of the Mughal Empire, Jaswan came under the control of the Sikhs, and in 1786 Raja Sansār Chand of Kangra acquired paramount power in the hills. So heavy was his hand even upon the offshoots of his own family that they all combined against him—Jaswan among them—when the Gurkhas invaded Kangra. At that time Umed Singh was in power.

With the acquisition of Kangra fort on the expulsion of the Gurkhas in 1809, the State became subject to Ranjit Singh, and in 1815 it was annexed to the Sikh kingdom. In the autumn of that year Maharaja Ranjit Singh summoned all his forces, personal and tributary, to assemble at Sialkot, and every hill chief was under obligation to attend with his contingent. The Rajas of Nurpur and Jaswan failed to obey the summons, and a fine was imposed on each, intentionally fixed beyond their resources.

Raja Umed Singh submitted quietly to his fate and resigned his State, accepting a *jāgīr* of Rs. 12,000 annual value, and this ancient principality thus came to an end after having lasted for nearly 800 years.

In 1848 during the second Sikh War, Umed Singh joined in the revolt against British Authority and he and his son, Jai Singh, were deported to Almora where they both died.

Sometime later, at the request of Maharāja Gulāb Singh of Jammu, Raja Ran Singh, son of Raja Jai Singh, was permitted to return in order that his son, Raghunath Singh, might marry the Maharāja's grand-daughter. He was given a *jāgīr* in Rāmkot in Jammu where he took up his residence.

In 1877, at the request of Maharāja Ranbīr Singh of Jammu and Kashmir, Government restored to Raja Ran Singh the *jāgīr* in Jaswan originally held by Raja Umed Singh, consisting of 21 villages in the Jaswan Dun, and the family garden at Amb, as well as the buildings at Rajpura, formerly the palace of Raja Umed Singh. He died in 1892, and was succeeded by his son, Raja Raghunath Singh, who died in 1918.

Tikka Lakshman Singh, the present head of the family, resides at Rāmkot in Jammu and Amb in Hoshiārpur.

GULER STATE.

Guler State dates only from about A. D. 1495. The peculiar circumstances which led to its being founded have already been related in the History of Kangra, but may be repeated here. Hari Chand I. succeeded to the *gaddi* of Kangra about A. D. 1400. At that period the country to the south of Kangra was all dense jungle, as much of it is still, and it seems to have been the favourite hunting ground of the Kangra Chiefs, all of whom have always been fond of sport. One day the Raja set out with his retinue on a hunting expedition in the direction of Harsar, now in Guler State, and in the course of the hunt he somehow got separated from the party and fell into a dry well, the top of which was level with the ground and overgrown with brushwood. On his disappearance a diligent search was made for several days but without success, and the party then returned to Kangra, believing that the Raja had fallen victim to some wild beast. His funeral obsequies were then performed according to custom, his *ranis* becoming *sati*. He seems to have had no son and his younger brother, Karam Chand, was installed in his room, the Raja being regarded as dead. He, however, was still alive and after many days—twenty-two it is said—he was discovered by a passing merchant, who had encamped on the main road close by for the night. On going to the well for some purpose he noticed the man lying at the bottom and had him raised and restored to life. On returning to Kangra Hari Chand found that his name had been blotted out from the records of the living and that his brother reigned in his stead. It is said that Karam Chand begged to be allowed to vacate the *gaddi*, but to this Hari Chand would not agree and it was finally arranged that he should found a new principality for himself within the borders of the State. The story may be true or not but it illustrates a fixed principle of succession to Hindu chiefships, *viz.*, that an heir-apparent once designated, or a Raja once enthroned, cannot be deprived of his dignity. The nomination or consecration is irrevocable. Thus the elder brother ruled at Guler and the younger held the hereditary kingdom of the Katoch family at Kangra. But down to the present time Guler takes precedence of Kangra on all ceremonial occasions and the Raja of Guler is the First Viceregal Durbari in the Kangra District.

The well is still shown near Harsar, on the side of the road from Nurpur and Jawāli to Haripur, and local tradition fully confirms all the main details. The merchant, it is said, received from Harī Chand a remission of all duties on his goods and this exemption was continued by all the succeeding Rajas and the Sikhs and only became obsolete on the remission of all duties by the British Government. Barnes states that Hari Chand was rescued by some shepherds, but this is not in accordance with local tradition.

In its palmy days the State extended from Ganesh Ghati in the East to Reh in the West, and from the Bās in the South to Gangot and Jawāli in the North. It had the same limits as the present *pargana* of Haripur, if Datarpur be added and *tappa* Gangot excluded.

The original name of the State was Gwāliār of which Guler is a derivation, and it is frequently referred to under this name in the Muhammadan histories. The name is derived from the word *Gopāla* or *Gwāla*, meaning "a cowherd", and the tradition is that a cowherd pointed out to Hari Chand the site, where a tiger and a goat were seendrinkng water together—as a suitable place for his capital. In keeping with the custom of the time the cowherd was offered as a sacrifice and his head buried in the foundation of the walls to ensure the stability of the fort. A similar tradition exists in connection with the foundation of Taragarh Fort in Chamba Territory by Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur, about A. D. 1625-30, when Tāra, a zamindār, is said to have been sacrificed in the same manner.

In addition to the Guler Fort at the capital—called Haripur Fort—there were six other forts along the frontiers of the State. These were Mastgarh, Kotla, Nehkianok, Gandharp, Ramgarh and Mangarh. Of these Kotla was the most important.

Gwāliār is referred to under that name in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhī*, *Tabaqāt-i-Akbari*, *Tārīkh-i-Daudī* and the *Akbar-nāma*; also in the *Diliparanjanī*, a chronicle of Guler which was written during the reign of Dilip Singh, in Samvat 1762 —(A. D. 1703)*

Hari Chand, c. A. D. 1405. Raja Hari Chand is said to have settled first at Harsar where he fell into the well, but soon afterwards moved to Guler or the place now bearing that name.

He then founded the Fort of Haripur at the end of a ridge overhanging the Bānganga river, one of the most striking and picturesque situations in the Kangra District. It was originally a fortified palace rather than a fortress, which the Sikhs at a later time fortified. The two outer gateways were demolished in 1847, and much destruction was caused by the Earthquake of 1905, and it is now in a ruinous condition.

Hari Chand also founded the town of Haripur on the flat below the fort near the left bank of the Bānganga and an older town, called Purana Guler, stands on the right bank. Very little information is available about the early history of the State, after Hari Chand. This may have been due to the fact that after the death of Firoz Shah Tughlak (A. D. 1388) the Delhi Empire fell into great disorder, which lasted for more than a hundred years. During that time the hill States probably enjoyed a period of tranquillity.

*Vide J. P. H. S., Vol. 11. No. 2, pp. 138 to 151.

The Rajas after Hari Chand were *Bharn Chand*, *Suvarn Chand*, *Udyan Chand*, *Narindar Chand*, *Udharan Chand*, *Ratan Chand*, *Nand Chand*, *Garuda Chand*, *Gambhir Chand*, *Abhaya Chand*, *Uttam Chand*, *Prithvi Chand*, *Karan Chand*, of whose reigns there are no records extant.

Ram Chand, c. A. D. 1540.—Rām Chand was the fifteenth Raja in direct succession after Hari Chand, covering a period of about a hundred and twenty years, and giving a reign of only eight years to each. This is much below the general average in the hill States. During this period there is only one reference to Gwālār in contemporaneous history. This is in the *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi* where we read that Prince Nasir-ud-Din Muhammad Tughlak, eldest son of Firoz Shah Tughlak, being compelled, in A. D. 1388, to flee from Delhi, was pursued as far as Suket and Gwālār on his way to Nagarkot.* There his pursuers, being strongly opposed and despairing of his capture, returned to Delhi. It is probable, however, that the reference is to Kahlur (Bilāspur) and not to Gwālār (Guler).

†The next reference is in the *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī* in the reign of Islām Shah Sur (A. D. 1545-53), younger son of Sher Shah Sur. He is said to have subdued all the *zamindars* (hill chiefs) whose possessions were at the foot of the hills, that is, in the Siwaliks, and they came in and promised to be faithful in their allegiance. Among them was Parasuram, the Raja of Gwālār, who became a staunch servant of the king, and was treated with a degree of consideration which far exceeded that shown to the other *Zamindars*." Gwālār is there referred to as "a hill which is on the right hand towards the south amongst the hills, as you go to Kangra and Nagarkot."

Islām Shāh stayed there some time and erected some buildings there, probably while he was engaged in building the fort of Maukot near Nurpur.

He also composed the following lines in jest about the inhabitants of Gwālār, whose appearance he did not admire ;—

"How can I sing the praises of the beloved ones of Gwālār ? I could never do so properly if I tried in a thousand ways."

"I do not know how to salute Parasuram, when I behold him I am distracted and exclaim—Ram, Ram."

In the Chamba chronicle there is a reference to a war between Partāp Singh Varma (c. A. D. 1559—86) and the Raja of Kangra whose name was Chandar Pal, and it is stated that Guler was occupied by the Chamba Army. This may have occurred towards the end of Rām Chand's reign. There is no mention of this war in the Guler chronicle, but this is not surprising as nothing would be recorded which detracted from the honour of the State.

* *Tārīkh-i-Mubārak Shāhi*, Elliot. Vol. IV. p. 19.

† *Tārīkh-i-Daūdī*, Elliot. Vol. IV. pp. 493-4.

Jagdīsh Chand, A. D. 1570.—The Raja of Guler referred to as Parasuram, was doubtless Rām Chand of the *Vamsāvalī* who is mentioned at a later date, in connection with the expedition despatched by Akbar in A. D. 1572, to suppress a revolt in the hills. The force advanced towards Kangra by Nurpur and Kotla. The latter place, it is stated, had previously belonged to Rām Chand of Guler, probably having been a part of the State from Hari Chand's time, but had been seized by Dharm Chand and his son, Jai Chand, of Kangra. It was besieged and reduced by the Mughals and the fort was then restored to the Guleria Raja, probably Jagdīsh Chand, son of Rām Chand. The ruler of Kangra at the time was Bidhi Chand whose father Jai Chand, referred to above, was arrested by Rām Chand of Guler and was then imprisoned in Delhi. It would appear that the Raja of Guler had not joined in the revolt, hence this generosity on the part of the Mughal Commander.

At a later date in Akbar's reign (A. D. 1588—9), another revolt broke out in the hills, and a force was sent to quell it. On tendering their submission many of the chiefs accompanied Zain *Khān* Koka, the Mughal Commander, to Court to renew their allegiance and present their offerings, but we do not find any mention of the Guler Chief among them.

Still another revolt occurred in A. D. 1594-5 in which most of the hill chiefs between Jammu and the Satluj were implicated. We are told that the Mughal Army after crossing the Ravi advanced to Paithān (Pathankot) and Mau (Maukot) and then to Gwālīār, "a strong fort belonging to a different Raja, who came out to meet the army and show his loyalty." From all this it is evident that the Raja of Guler remained faithful on all three occasions.

Vijaya Chand, c.A.D. 1605.—Jagdīsh Chand was succeeded by Vijaya Chand who reigned only five years, and his sons only for a few days, when Rup Chand, a younger brother of Vijaya Chand, came to the throne.

Rup Chand, c. A. D. 1610.—Rup Chand was one of the most notable of the Guleria Chiefs. He must have succeeded about A. D. 1610, and remained loyal throughout his reign. He took an active part in the final siege of Kangra Fort, which surrendered to the Imperial Army on Thursday, 1st Muharram A. H. 1030 (—16th November 1620 A. D.). In the *Tūzūk-i-Jahāngīrī* the following occurs:—"As Raja Rup Chand of Gwālīār had been very active in his service at Kangra an order was given to the chief diwans to hand over half of his native place to him in free gift, and the remaining as a *tankhwah Jāgīr*."

The date of this order was Thursday, 26th Azar, A. H. 1030. corresponding to 7th December, A. D. 1620.

Shortly afterwards we read that "Raja Rup Chand was honoured with the gift of an elephant and a horse and took leave to go to his *jāgīr*."

Again in A. D. 1623-4 Rup Chand of Gwāliar is mentioned among the *Amirs*, who had been appointed to suppress a disturbance raised by Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur, at the instigation of Prince *Khurram* (Shāhjahān) who was then on bad terms with his father.

In the Guler Chronicle, already referred to, the bard states that Rup Chand overran the hill districts twenty-two, that is many times, in the service of the Emperor Jahāngīr, who also sent him on a military expedition to the Dakhan where he distinguished himself. On his return he was honoured with *khilats* and permitted to retire to his State.

Finally in the same record an account is given of an expedition against Garhwāl State, in which Rup Chand bore an honourable part and lost his life.

In A. D. 1634, Shahjahan sent an army to invade the State, which met with strong resistance. Supplies ran short and the camp was in confusion, owing to the only way of retreat being closed by the Garhwālis.

Nijābat *Khān* commanded the force and Prithvī Shah the Raja of Garhwāl allowed it to penetrate far into the hills, retiring before the advance. He then closed all the routes and thus cut off supplies and the army had to exist on the flesh of horses and elephants. As a result there was no alternative but to retire. As the bard says :—

"Nijābat *Khān* remembered the Prophet, and turned his back and retreated."

This is confirmed by Manucci in the *Storia do Mogor* who states that when the Mughals had advanced some distance into the hills the Raja of Garhwāl surrounded them and cut off their retreat. Nijābat *Khan* then sent proposals of peace but was told that they had come too late. He then asked permission to retire and this was granted on condition that each of the soldiers should throw down his arms and leave his nose behind him, and to this they had to agree to save their lives.

The *Máasirul-Umara* states that Nijābat *Khan* escaped alone to Sambhal, sustaining life on the leaves of trees. Rup Chand stood firm, though deprived of all support and advanced towards Srinagar the capital of the State, but was killed in battle after having fought bravely and overcome many of his foes. As the bard has it :—

"For the cause of Shāhjahān, Rup Chand, the jewel of a king, fought and sacrificed his life in Garhwāl."

* Elphinstone, the historian, also refers to this expedition and states that the Mughal force was almost completely destroyed. From other sources we learn that Nijābat Khān was a brave and experienced soldier, who afterwards distinguished himself at the siege of Mankot in 1641-2 against Jagat Singh of Nurpur and later in the war with Dāra Shikoh, but on his return from Garhwal he is said to have lost his *mansab* or military rank and the *jāg'ir*, but they seem to have been soon restored.

Rup Chand was also employed in the hill wars against the Rajas of Jammu and Mankot, and received the title of Bahadur and a dress of honour and two weapons which are still preserved in the family.

Mān Singh, A. D. 1635.—He was succeeded by his son, Mān Singh, and from his time the suffix of the family was changed to Singh, it is said, by order of Shāhjahān, who admired him for his valour and called him "Sher Afgan."

As the bard relates:—"The Emperor conferred on him the title of Lion (Sinha) and gave him a horse of great value."

†Mān Singh, like his ancestors, was faithful to the Mughals, and rendered valiant services. He was attached to the army under Aurangzeb sent by Shāhjahān to besiege Qandahār, but on the way some misunderstanding arose and a complaint was sent to the Emperor, that he was delaying the advance.

An order was received to send him back to court under arrest, but the Rajas of Jaipur and Jodhpur intervened and the matter was hushed up.

Mān Singh seems to have been employed on the frontier for some years, but in A. D. 1641-2 he was recalled and placed under the command of Prince Murād Baksh, in the army sent to suppress the revolt of Raja Jagat Singh of Nurpur. This duty was entirely to his liking, as a deadly feud existed between him and Jagat Singh, probably handed down from Rup Chand's time. In the records, Mān Singh is called "the mortal enemy of Jagat Singh." He probably had also personal wrongs to avenge, for the Rajas of Guler and Suket are said to have been imprisoned in Delhi, in consequence of false charges preferred against them by Jagat Singh.

Mān Singh receives honourable mention by the Muhammadan historians in the accounts of the sieges of Mankot and Taragāh in A. D. 1641-2. After Jagat Singh's surrender, Mān Singh was ordered to present himself at Court, but, it is said, declined to do so unless appointed Faujdar of the hill States. He is also said to have conquered Mandī, Suket, Bashahr and Kulā.

* Elphinstone's *History*-p.510. 1857.

†As the expedition under Aurangzeb did not advance till 1647 it is probable that that of 1637 is referred to.

The poet's reference to Qandahar is confused and indefinite but it is certainly true as regards Mandi and also probably Suket. He also had conflicts with Nurpur and Kangra, in which he managed to hold his own. The Fort of Mangarh was probably built by him. At last he abdicated in favour of his son and retired on an allowance from the Emperor, to Benares where he died in A. D. 1661.

Bikram Singh, A. D. 1661.—Bikram Singh also was employed on the North-west frontier against the Yusufzai Pathan tribes, whom he subdued.

He also defeated a Mughal Officer named Fidai Khan stationed at Nadaun to collect the revenue, and was taken to Hasan Abdāl, probably under arrest. From there he was sent to Peshawar to do service against the Pathans, and was mortally wounded and died at a place called Chauntra on his way back. It is said that Aurangzeb conferred on him the *mansab* of 2,500, with valuable *Khilats*, and made him Thanadar of the Kangra hills. He was famed for his physical strength, and could break a cocoanut to pieces with his fingers.

Rāj Singh, c. A. D. 1675.—He was followed by his son, Rāj Singh, probably about A. D. 1675. About that time the Viceroy of Lahore was Khwaja Riza Beg, who used to make inroads into the hill country. Chatar Singh of Chamba, Rāj Singh of Guler, Dhiraj Pāl of Basōhli, and Kirpāl Dev of Jammu combined against him and recovered the territories lost. Rāj Singh is also said to have saved Mandi and Kahlūr from similar oppression by Mughal officers, and defeated the Mughal forces under Husain Khān, Alaf Khān and Mian Khān.

Dilip Singh, A. D. 1695.—Raj Singh died in 1695, leaving a son, Dilip Singh, born in A. D. 1688, and therefore only about seven years old, Udai Singh of Chamba had been appointed his guardian and was appealed to for help when the Rajas of Jammu and Basohli, taking advantage of a minority, invaded Guler. Udai Singh with the help of Siba, Kahlur and Mandi, drove out the invaders and restored the infant Raja to his rights.

Another invasion by Husain Khān, the Faujdār of Kangra Fort, assisted by some of the Katoches, was repulsed by the State subjects. Dilip Singh died about A. D. 1730. He also rendered great help to Guru Gobind Singh.

Govardhan Singh, c. A. D. 1730.—Govardhan Singh who succeeded had a quarrel with Adina Beg Khan, Governor of the Jalandhar Doab, about a horse which the Raja refused to give up. A fight ensued in which the Guleria Chief was victorious. He probably had a long reign, but no records have come down to us.

Prakash Singh, c. A.D. 1760.—Prakash Singh succeeded probably about 1760. The Mughal Empire had then ceased to exercise any authority in the Punjab, and anarchy prevailed.

Guler probably came under the control of Ghamand Chand of Kangra from about 1758, and under the Sikhs from about 1770 till 1786 when Raja Sansār Chand acquired supreme power in the hills. But amid all these changes the State continued to preserve its integrity, except the *ilāqa* of Kotla, which originally belonged to Guler.

Kotla *ilāqa* seems to have been a part of the imperial demesne formed by Todar Mal in the reign of Akbar and the fort was garrisoned with Mughal troops probably in 1618 or from the same time as Kangra Fort. It is not known when the garrison was evacuated, but in 1758 the Fort was seized by Dhian Singh, Wazir of Guler—who made himself independent and successfully resisted even Sansār Chand.

Bhup Singh, c. A.D. 1790.—Bhup Singh who came to the *gaddi* about 1790 was the last ruling chief of Guler. All the Kangra States were then under the supremacy of Sansār Chand and his oppressive measures aroused a spirit of resistance among them. They formed a confederacy against him, and through the Raja of Bilāspur invited the Gurkhas to invade Kangra. Bhup Singh was one of the first to join them with his contingent.

On the surrender of Kangra Fort to Ranjit Singh in 1809, all the States of the Kangra group came under his control. For a time he treated Bhup Singh with respect and called him Baba, but the extinction of the principality was close at hand.

In 1811 Ranjit Singh began to disclose his designs on the hill States, and Guler was the first to be annexed.

In that year Desa Singh Majithia was sent against Kotla Fort and captured it in a week, a *jāgīr* being assigned to Dhiān Singh in the Doab. In 1813 the rest of the State was also seized. Barnes gives the following account of the way in which this was done:—"The plan was skilfully and deliberately laid. The Raja was directed to raise a large force to assist in some operations on the Indus, and when the military strength of the population was drained off and the country lay defenceless, the Raja was summoned to Lahore, and on the day that he expected leave to return, he was shamelessly arrested, and told that he would not be allowed to go till he surrendered his kingdom and accepted a *jagīr*. Without waiting for a reply, Desa Singh was sent off with an army of ten thousand Sikhs and the territory was quietly annexed to the growing rule of the Khalsa. The Raja was restored to liberty, but spurned the offer of a *jāgīr*. He had assigned 20,000 rupees during his own incumbency for the support of his female household, and Ranjit Singh left that maintenance untouched." These lands still form the *jāgīr* of the family.

Bhup Singh died in 1820 and was succeeded by his son, Shamsher Singh, who died in 1877.

In the First Sikh War he raised a force from among his retainers and turned the Sikhs out of Haripur Fort. Shamsher Singh remained loyal during the rising of 1848 and refused to countenance the proceedings of his kinsmen. As he left no son, he was followed by his brother, Raja Jai Singh, who died in 1884, and was succeeded by Raja Raghunath Singh, who died on 9th March 1920.

The present head of the family is Raja Baldeo Singh who resides at Nandpur within his *jagir*. The Haripur Fort is also in his possession, having been made over by the Government to Raja Shamsher Singh. The title of Raja was conferred on the head of the family as a hereditary distinction in 1878.

Raja Baldeo Singh is the first Viceregal Darbari in the Kangra District and exercises criminal and civil powers within his *jagir*.

SIBA STATE.

Siba State was an offshoot from Guler, as Guler was from Kangra. In the fourth generation after Hari Chand, a younger brother of the ruling chief of Guler, named Sibarn Chand, made himself independent in a tract to the south of the Bias, probably about A. D. 1500.

There he founded his capital and called it Siba after his own name, and in accordance with ancient custom the name was also applied to the State. *Taluqa* Siba in the Kangra District at the present time represents the exact dimensions of the former State. The clan name is Sibaia.

Very little is known of its subsequent history, but Siba is mentioned in Jahāngīr's Memoirs on the occasion of his visit to Kangra in January A. D. 1622. He was accompanied by Nurjahān Begum and her father, Itimādud-daula, and when the imperial camp was at the village of Bahlwan in Siba the Emperor set out with his personal retinue to visit Kangra Fort, leaving Nurjahān with her father who was seriously ill. On the way a messenger overtook him with a message that grave symptoms had appeared and Jahāngīr at once retraced his steps and was present at Itimādud-daula's death. He then went on to Kangra, probably by Haripur, and returned by Nurpur.

The State seems to have preserved its independence all through the Mughal period under its own Rajas, of whom there were 26 down to the time of its extinction. It was subject to the Sikhs till 1786 and to Sansār Chand of Kangra from 1786

till the Gurkha invasion in 1806, and the Raja of that time was Gobind Singh. Availing himself of the disorder then prevailing Raja Bhup Chand of Guler, in 1808, invaded Siba and annexed it. It again came under the Sikhs in 1809 and ten years later Ranjit Singh retook it from Guler and in 1830 restored it to Raja Gobind Singh. Amid the ruin that befell the other hill States in Kangra, Siba alone escaped. It is said that Ranjit Singh had doomed it to destruction, but it was saved owing to the fact that Raja Dhiān Singh, the Minister, had obtained two princesses of the Siba family in marriage, and through his intervention the danger was averted. A tribute of Rs. 1,500 was imposed and the principal fort had to be surrendered and the territory then became only a *jāgīr*.

The State was then divided between the two cousins, Raja Gobind Singh and Mian Devi Singh, Rs. 20,000 (subject to tribute) being assigned to the former and Rs. 5,000 (talūqa Kotila) to the latter.

Raja Gobind Singh died in 1845 and was succeeded by his son, Raja Rām Singh. During the second Sikh War he drove the Sikhs out of Siba fort, and also ousted his cousin, Bijē Singh—son of Devi Singh—from his *jāgīr*, but was obliged to restore it. Raja Rām Singh died without heirs in 1874 and his *jāgīr* was re-granted to Bijē Singh and his heirs male in perpetuity, with the title of Raja, subject to an annual tribute of Rs. 1,500. From him Raja Jai Singh, his son, Raja Gajindar Singh, and Raja Sham Singh the present chief are descended. The State is generally spoken of as Dāda-Siba from the two principal places within its bounds.

On 15th March 1919 the title of "Raja" was conferred on Jai Singh, Jagirdar of Siba, as a hereditary distinction by Government.

DATARPUR STATE.

Datārpur State was an offshoot from Siba as Siba was from Guler.

In the seventh generation from Sibarn Chand, Siba was ruled by Mānak Chand who had three sons ;—Narmuda Chand, Ram Chand and Lakhudah Chand. The third son had his residence in Dāda, within the Siba State. To him in the third generation was born Datār Chand, who founded the Datārpur State, a tract now in the Dasuya Tehsil of Hoshiārpur, about A. D. 1600.

This tract was originally in the possession of a local chief, who called in Datār Chand to help him against his enemies. Having overcome them, he seized the territory and made himself its ruler. He gave his name to the new capital which he founded, and from it the State also received its name.

The clan name of the family is Dadwāl from Dāda, their original name.

Nothing is known about the subsequent history of the State till it came under the control of Sansār Chand of Kangra in 1768. Gobind Chand—the tenth in descent from Datār Chand—was in power in 1806 and joined the Gurkhas on their invasion of Kangra. In 1809 the State became subject to Maharaja Ranjit Singh by whom it was reduced to the status of a *jāgīr*.

Gobind Chand died in 1818 and the Maharaja then decided to annex the territory. Accordingly Raja Jagat Chand was held in durance till he consented to accept a *jāgīr*. This he continued to hold till 1848, when he rebelled along with the Katoch princes and was deported to Almora where he died in 1877. His son, Mian Devi Chand, born in 1838, was permitted to return to Kangra at the request of the Raja of Mandī. He died in 1883 leaving two sons, Surma Chand, who resided in Jammu, and Raghbir Chand in Mandī. A younger branch descended from a third son, Udham Singh, resides at Prithipur in the Hoshiarpur District, in the enjoyment of a pension.

Mian Baldeo Chand the present head of the family is a son of Raghbir Chand and has a residence in Datārpur, but the old palace is no longer habitable.

KUTLEHR STATE.

Kutlehr State in later times consisted of two provinces : Chauki and Kutlehr—hence the double name by which the State was generally known. It was situated among the Jaswan hills, and its name and limits are still preserved in the present *talūqa* of Kutlehr. It was the smallest of all the principalities in the Kangra area. Forty generations of Rajas are said to have ruled the State. The progenitor of the family was a Brahman ; but on acquiring regal power, he was recognized as Rajput. Mr. Barnes states that he came from Sambhal near Moradabad but the family records trace his descent from a Raja of Poona.

About the tenth or eleventh century the then head of the family, named Jas Pal, conquered the *talūqas* of Talhati and Kutlehr, and fixed his capital at Kot Kutlehr. The two small States of Bhajji and Koti in the Simla Hills are said to have been founded respectively by his second son and his grandson. The clan name is Kutlehria.

The extent of territory under their rule varied from time to time, and in the reigns of the early Mughal emperors they held Chauki, Kutlehr, Makhandi in Nadaun, and Talhati now in Hoshiarpur.

The State is not mentioned in the Muhammadan histories of the time, but the ruling family possess *sanads* granted by the Mughal Emperors, addressing them as " Rai " and recognising their rights as rulers of the tracts named, on payment of tribute and under the condition of Military Service.

They probably enjoyed tranquil possession of their territory all through the Mughal period, but in later times the aggressions of the neighbouring States reduced their country to its present limits.

In 1758, Ghamand Chand of Kangra was appointed Governor of the hills by Ahmad Shah Durāni, and soon afterwards annexed Chauki, the northern province of the State, and when Sansār Chand came into power in 1786, Kutlehr also was seized and the Raja was completely dispossessed, but during the Gurkha invasion all his territory was restored. From 1809 the State was subject to the Sikhs, and in 1825 Ranjit Singh determined to annex it and laid siege to the strong fort of Kotwalbah. The defence was conducted by Raja Narain Pal in person and for two months the siege made no progress.

A promise was then made of a *jāgīr* of Rs. 10,000 if the fort was surrendered, and to this the Raja agreed.

During the first Sikh war, Raja Narain Pal expelled the Sikhs from Kotwalbah, and later, in consideration of his services, he was awarded a life-grant of Rs. 10,000 in addition to the *jāgīr* of like value, and this was afterwards confirmed to his heirs in perpetuity, subject to a *nazarāna* of Rs. 1,188.

He was also allowed three fourths of the forest income within his *jāgīr*.

The original *jāgīr* was in Hoshiārpur but was afterwards, for the sake of compactness, exchanged for villages in the Kutlehr *talūqa* of Kangra.

Raja Narain Pal died in 1864 and was succeeded by his son, Raja Rām Pal, the present head of the family. He exercises criminal and civil judicial powers within the limits of his *jāgīr* and is the fifth Viceregal Darbari in Kangra District.

BANGĀHAL STATE.

The Bangāhal State included Bara Bangāhal in the Ravi Valley and all the territory now lying between Kangra and Kulu, called Chota Bangāhal; also in all probability the area between Chota Bangāhal and the Biās river—now in Mandī. Paprola, Lanodh and Rajjer, now in Kangra, also originally belonged to Bangāhal.

The capital of the State was at Bīr in Bīr-Bangāhal. The early history of the State is unknown as all records seem to have perished. There is, indeed, a reference in the Kulu chronicle at an early period, but its authenticity is doubtful.

The founder of the State is said to have been a Brahman, who ranked as Rajput on becoming a Raja, and his descendants are said to have ruled the State for twenty generations previous to Prithi Pal—who was murdered about 1720.

Allowing twenty years to a reign—the usual average—we may assume that the State was founded about A. D. 1300, but it is probable that it came into existence at an earlier period.

Previous to this, the whole territory was probably under the rule of petty chiefs—called Rānas and Thākurs, as was the case in Kulu, Mandī and Kangra.

The names of the early Rajas have not come down to us, but their suffix was Pāl, and they were of Chandarbansi race. The clan name is Bangāhalia.

The peculiar situation of the State and its proximity to its three powerful neighbours—Kangra, Mandī and Kulu, must always have afforded a strong temptation to encroachments, and we find that these began at an early period. In the Suket chronicle we read that Raja Madan Sen (C. A. D. 1240) led an army across the Bias—then his boundary—and subdued the Rānas of Drang and Guma—then probably in Bangāhal State. When Mandi acquired the territory to the south of the Biās from Suket another invasion took place, in the reign of Sahib Sen (c. A. D. 1554), and Drang and Guma were annexed. The districts of Chuhār and Kodhsawār to the east had also passed into the possession of Lag, a small principality in Kulu, afterwards absorbed by that State in the reign of Jagat Singh.

About A. D. 1637 Suraj Sen of Mandī sought to extend his border northward and invaded Bangāhal. He was opposed and driven back by Jagat Singh of Kulu, who, as the price of his assistance, seized a portion of the State territory adjoining his own.

Prithi Pal, c. A. D. 1710. But the greatest loss sustained by Bangāhal was in the reign of Sidh Sen of Mandī (A. D. 1684—1728). At that time Prithi Pāl was Raja of Bangāhal, and son-in-law to Sidh Sen—while his sister was married to Mān Singh of Kulu, Sidh Sen cast covetous eyes on his son-in-law's principality and sought to annex it by treachery. On some pretext Prithi Pal was invited to Mandī. On his arrival he was received with all honour but within a month he was inveigled into the Damdama palace and murdered. His body was burnt but his head was buried in front of the palace on a spot now marked by a pillar in the middle of a tank, on which a light is kept burning every night.

Sidh Sen then sent an army against Bangāhal, and Prithi Pāl's mother appealed to Man Singh for help. The Mandi forces were driven back, but Man Singh annexed a large portion of the State to Kulu, including Chota and Bara Bangāhal. The forts of Jagapur, Tika Thana and the pargana of Nir with a portion of Chuhār were annexed by Mandi; but in the end Mandi gained little by the treacherous deed. The story of Prithi Pāl's tragic death is the subject of a popular ballad.

Raghnath Pal, c. A. D. 1720. Prithi Pāl was succeeded by his son, Raghnāth Pāl, who on two occasions repelled an invasion by Mandi.

Sidh Sen attempted to seize Karanpur but was repulsed and on a second occasion he penetrated as far as Kotharlu Gulu but was again driven back with the assistance of Kulu. At a later time Shamsheer Sen of Mandi, son of Sidh Sen—seized Karanpur in the absence of Raghnāth Pāl, who had gone to appeal to the Mughal Viceroy of the Punjab.

Dalel Pal, c. A. D. 1735. Raghnāth Pāl died in 1735 and was succeeded by his son, Dalel Pal, who was also successful in defending what remained of his ancestral possessions. A combined attack was made on Bangāhal by Mandi, Kulu Kahlur, Nalagarh, Guler and Jaswan, which was repelled with great loss. The Raja commemorated the victory by erecting mounds of the heads of his foes. One of these exists in the pine forest in Bir, and another on the bank of the Pun river. Most of the territory, including Bara, Chota and Bir Bangahal, had by that time been taken by Kulu; and Mandi had extended her boundary to her present border.

Mān Pal, A. D. 1749. Mān Pal, the last ruling chief, succeeded only to the *talūgas* of Lanodh, Paprola and Rajjer. He died on his way to Delhi, where he was going with the object of securing help from the Mughal Emperor. In his absence the Rajas of Kangra and Guler seized all that was left of the State—Lanodh and Paprola, being attached to Kangra and the remaining property to Guler.*

Mān Pal's widow with her infant son Nihāl Pal sought refuge with Raja Rāj Singh of Chamba who allowed her a small *jāgīr*. In 1785 Raja Sansār Chand of Kangra married a daughter of Raja Mān Pal and lent a force to Uchal Pal, son of Mān Pal, to recover his patrimony from Mandi. In this he was unsuccessful and soon afterwards the Kulu and Mandi Rajas paid five lakhs of rupees to Sansār Chand to secure themselves in possession of Bangāhal.

* (1) A letter exists in the Chamba archives recording a compact between Mandi, Kangra and Chamba, to attack Makarsa (Kulu) and seize Bangahal (then Kulu territory) and divide it equally among them, dated 1 Magh Vik. 1834 (A. D. 1778).

Uchal Pal soon afterwards died leaving three sons and a daughter under Sansār Chand's protection. The daughter was married to the Raja of Siba. Rām Pal, eldest son of Uchal Pal, died childless in 1843. His younger brother, Bahadur Pal, tried to recover the family patrimony but in vain and died in 1854 and the main seems to be now extinct.

The head of a collateral branch resides in Bīr Bangāhal in possession of a small estate.

*THE UNPUBLISHED LETTERS OF SARDAR
CHATAR SINGH ATARIWALA.

By Jagat Singh Saluja, M. A., Alexandra Research Scholar.

The political history of the Sikhs has been attempted by several contemporary writers—M^c Gregor, Carmichael Smyth, Cunningham and others. But the very fact that they wrote at the time of the actual occurrence of the events, debarred them from getting a true insight into some of the family secrets of the rulers at Lahore. History reveals itself but slowly especially when it has to trace the deep-laid plots and counter-plots of an internal warfare and diabolical murders associated with a Reign of Terror.

Later writers like Sayyad Muhammad Latif and Lepel Griffin had not enough of new material before them, which they might have examined and thus had determined facts.

Thanks to the Punjab Government and Principal Garrett, the Keeper of the Records, by whose devotion to Historical Research, a History Research Department has been organised, a student of history has now sufficient original material to work upon.

A part of the original records of the Khalsa Darbar had been arranged about a decade back by L. Sita Ram Kohli. But fresh material has been recently recovered from within the Lahore Fort, for which our thanks are due to Mr. Zaffar Hussain of the Archaeological Department. Apart from these records which are full of ministerial details of various descriptions, we have secured a number of very useful documents from some of the old families of the Punjab. We are, therefore, in a position of vantage over our predecessors and consequently, we may in course of time be able to throw more light on the Sikh History relating to the time and after the death of Ranjit Singh.

*The letters of Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala have been secured from a descendant of Ch. Shahbaz Khan, the *kārdār* (revenue collector) of the Sardar, to whom most of the letters are addressed. They are one hundred and seventy-four in number. Of these, one hundred and four pertain to the 2nd Sikh War and the remaining seventy letters relate to the first Sikh War.

The examination of the letters gives us in the first place quite a new version of some of the events and secondly it gives for the first time a documentary evidence of some other events which had been so far accepted on mere tradition.

We have got, for example, very useful information relating to Raja Lal Singh's conduct during the first Sikh War. †Captain Cunningham writes of him that "in connection with his original design, he involved his followers in an engagement and then left them to fight as their undirected valour might prompt." ‡Gough and Innes, writing after Cunningham, on the other hand, remark: "There is no evidence in support of the assertion, which has been made that these chiefs (Teja Singh and Lal Singh) were guilty of treachery."

However, it is a widely believed tradition in the Punjab that Lal Singh did not play his part honourably at the time when the Government whose salt he had eaten and with whom he seemed to have identified his interests was passing through the hardest of times and the severest of trials.

But to-day, after over seventy-five years have elapsed, we have come across the evidence, the existence of which had so far either been totally denied or merely supposed to exist. In one of the letters we read :

کہ اولاً سنگھاں خالصہ جیو ہمراہ انگریزاں دو دفعہ آئروئے
آب جنگ و جدل چنداں کر دند کہ ہزار ہا از طرفین بکار آمدند اما
راجہ لعل سنگھ کہ افسر کمان بود گریختہ آمد ازین موجب در سنگھاں
ہزیمت افتاد۔ حالاً باز سنگھاں با خود ہائے قسم و سوگند نمودہ
آئروئے آب رفتہ پر مجاہدہ مستعد اند و بفضل فضل و در عرصہ قلیل
فتح و نصرت نصیب خالصہ جیو خواہد شد۔ واضح باد۔

That is, the Sikhs twice gave battle to the English and the heat of the fight may be imagined from the fact that thousands of men have been killed from either side in the action. But

* Some of these letters measure 24" long.

† A History of the Sikhs, pp. 291-292.

‡ The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars, p. 65.

Raja Lal Singh, the Commanding Officer, fled away from the field. This caused a great panic among the fighting Khalsa. But still some of them have taken oaths to persevere and are fighting. By the Grace of God, Victory shall soon be ours.

Thus we see that Lal Singh deserted the Sikhs during the heat of the fight and it is possible that Cunningham's allegation, that he was in collusion with the enemy, is true. The Sikh soldiers displayed a remarkable courage and coolness and had they found honest and competent men to lead them, they might have preserved the integrity of the Punjab.

"Never did a native army having so relatively slight an advantage in numbers fight a battle with the British in which the issue was so doubtful as at Ferozeshah and if the victory was decisive, opinion remains divided as to what the result might have been if the Sikh troops had found Commanders with sufficient capacity to give their qualities full opportunity.*

Another letter reveals to an extent the mind of Sardar Chatar Singh after the conclusion of the first Sikh War. After giving an account of the defeat, he writes : †

آئندہ نحو یکہ ارادہ زیر دست بجل نخواہد آورد

That in future, however, we shall fight the enemy with a formidable determination.

Whatever allowance may be made for the fact that Chatar Singh wrote this, most probably, more or less in the heat of a moment, at a moment when the Sikhs had lost the day and at a time when he did not know the future destiny of his country, we cannot altogether ignore it. We learn that Chatar Singh would not easily transfer his loyalty to another power. He worshipped Maharaja Ranjit Singh as an idol and therefore he detested the English who had now broken the power of his successors; a fact which is confirmed by Mr. Thorburn.‡

Soon after the conclusion of the first Sikh War, Chatar Singh was appointed Governor of Peshawar and he went over there intent on harrying the Muhammedans of the country, though he was thwarted in this object by Captain James Abbott, one of the Assistants of the Resident appointed to aid and advise Chatar Singh in the execution of his official duties.

Captain Abbott attempted to isolate Sardar Chatar Singh and his troops by occupying the passes leading down to the plains. For a time, he sulked, and protested; at last early in November 1848, he broke into open rebellion and became the directing brain of a national movement.

* Sir G. Gough and Arthur Innes... *The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars*, p. 42.

† Letter No. 66.

‡ "Ranjit Singh and all his doings were his (Chatar Singh's) admiration, the English and all theirs his detestation." *The Punjab in Peace and War*, p. 106.

It may be remarked in passing that Chatar Singh, while affirming that he was loyal, was busy intriguing. Not only was he sending messages to Multan calling upon his son Sher Singh to revolt but he also opened communication with the Amir at Kabul and with Sultan Muhammad, the Nizam of Kohat. In short, he used all means in his power to render the rebellion as formidable as possible, exactly as he had premeditated. After the murder of Col. Canora (Kennedy) an Irish Commandant of the Sikh Artillery, the missions of Sardar Jhanda Singh Batalia and of Raja Dina Nath, undertaken to induce the Sardar to surrender, totally failed. The Atari Chief had already decided on his course. There could be no retracing, no going back. It is, therefore, incorrect to say that the Hazara Revolt was an appeal to arms in *purely* self-defence.

Chatar Singh like so many others of his nation had no mind to settle peacefully without another and a greater trial of strength. He wanted war. The question of fixing the date of his would-be son-in-law Maharaja Dalip Singh's marriage and the banishment of Rani Jindan were facts which gave only an increased stimulus to Chatar Singh. These events together with the Multan Rebellion were not so much the cause as they were the signal for the Atari Chief to rebel.

Here, I get the opportunity to mention another thing about Chatar Singh but in another connection.

Historians condemn him as a regular robber of the poor peasantry, whom, they advocate, he regarded as creatures to be exploited. This is unjust, for we read quite the reverse in the letters. He impresses upon his subordinates once and again to treat the peasants in a very good way so that they should prosper. In one of the letters, he allows a part of the land revenue to be remitted because of a hailstorm. The original reads:

آئنگہ نزالہ افتادہ نقصان آنجاسے خود فہمید رعایا را از معاملہ
جبرائی بدہند - دیگر علاقہ راجو را از عقل و فہمیدگی خود چنان
سازند کہ رعیت آباد ماند بہ

We often forget that if a ruler is always bent upon exacting even the last pie from the pocket of the ryot, he goes against himself, for on the welfare of the ruled, after all, depends the prosperity and richness of the rulers. It is admitted on all hands that Chatar Singh was a good farmer himself. A good farmer would never exact the last penny out of the peasant.

Chatar Singh governed the country (Hazara) to the entire satisfaction of the Lahore Darbar and for his services and

loyalty, he was granted a sanad in August 1847 and it was proposed to confer the title of Raja upon him.

Now, gentlemen, I would discuss in the light of new information *the theory of Prince Peshora Singh's murder*.

*Peshora Singh was born in 1819 and though it is not certain whether he was the legitimate son of the great Maharaja Ranjit Singh, the latter acknowledged him as his son and the army was specially very fond of this valiant Prince.

Sardar Hira Singh son of Raja Dhyani Singh of the famous Jammu family who had been created minister under Maharaja Dalip Singh in September 1843 thought his position insecure as long as the brothers, Peshora Singh and †Kashmira Singh were in power. He, therefore, devised pretexts to entangle them in difficulties. They were charged with complicity in the plots of the Sindhanwalia brothers—Sardars Lehna Singh and Ajit Singh—which had ended in the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh and his minister Raja Dhyani Singh. A pardon was at last conferred upon them.

When Atar Singh Sindhanwalia raised the standard of rebellion in May 1844 to attain the Wazirat, the discontented brothers Kashmira Singh and Peshora Singh also joined it. Prince Kashmira Singh was killed in December 1844 in the action that followed. Peshora Singh, having witnessed the sad fate of his brother repaired to the Lahore Darbar and made his submission. He was re-instated in his Jagirs at Gujranwala on the condition of leading a peaceful life. He was, however, once again persuaded to renew his claims to the throne of Lahore by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Jammu, who played a double game. On the one hand, he promised full support to the Prince and on the other, he instigated Sardar Jawahir Singh, brother of Rani Jindan, the newly created minister, to put Peshora Singh out of his way as best as he could, as he was his only foe and the rival of his nephew, the young Maharaja Dalip Singh. The Sikh army having received very lavish promises from Rani Jindan and the Minister Jawahir Singh, Peshora Singh had to wait for a more favourable opportunity.

It was under these circumstances that Peshora Singh went to the territories of Chahal, Punchh and Rajore, once belonging to Raja Dhyani Singh and raised the standard of revolt. He found sincere and effective allies in Raja Faiz-Talib Khan of Bhimber and the sons of Raja Rahimullah Khan of Rajauri—the hereditary chiefs of the country. Peshora Singh was consequently able to raise the population in a mass and expel

* The descendants of Prince Peshora Singh are still living in Lahore.

† Having been born about the time of the conquest of Kashmir, the Maharaja, in commemoration of the event, gave the baby, the name of Kashmira Singh.

the officers and garrisons of both of the Lahore Darbar and of the Jammu chief Maharaja Gulab Singh. He appointed a Governor of his own over these territories and himself retired to his Jagirs at Sialkot.

*At the appearance of these disturbances caused by Peshora Singh, Sardar Jawahir Singh first thought of sending Sardar Mangal Singh to act against the insurgents but since he was suspected of having secretly joined Prince Peshora Singh's party, he next tried to persuade †General Court's force to attack the insurgents but they, on the contrary, publicly and honourably received Peshora Singh's messengers and wrote back a flat refusal to act against him adding that the right of Dalip Singh to the masnad was in no way superior to that of Peshora Singh and that having already to please the Darbar brought on themselves the reproach of having killed Prince Kashmira Singh and ‡Bhai Bir Singh, they would not add to it that of acting against Maharaja Ranjit Singh's other son. Sardar Jawahir Singh, thereupon, ordered certain hill battalions to put down the rebellion but by Maharaja Gulab Singh's advice, he had refused to increase their pay, so there was danger that, if sent alone, they might join the enemy. He tried, therefore, to induce two battalions and the artillery of General Mehtab Singh Majithia's Brigade to proceed to Bhimber. After making many objections, the Majithia General agreed to the proposal and on the 19th May (1845) the whole Brigade actually crossed the Ravi in order to proceed against Peshora Singh. General Court's Brigade, however, entered into communication with General Mehtab Singh's Brigade then encamped at Shahdara near Lahore and dissuaded them from attacking the Prince.

The discovery of the correspondence of nearly all the Sardars of the State with Peshora Singh increased the fears of Sardar Jawahir Singh. Chatar Singh Atariwala, however, went and suppressed the revolt. The local chiefs were imprisoned and the country was regained.

Now it remained to put down Peshora Singh's revolt in Sialkot.

While the above events were occurring, the Brigade of General Mehtab Singh moved on Sialkot. Sardar Mangal Singh too took part against Peshora Singh and regained nearly all the

* Punjab Records.

† Monsieur Court had received his training in Paris and joined Maharaja Ranjit Singh's service in 1826.

‡ Bhai Bir Singh was a holy man who had become famous for his sanctity in the Manjha country. However, he was very rich and maintained a force as his body-guard. He was bitterly against the ascendancy of the Jammu family and after the murder of Maharaja Sher Singh and his Minister Raja Dhyan Singh, advocated the cause of Sardar Atar Singh Sindhanwala to the wazirat. Raja Hira Singh, however, overcame his enemies and Bhai Bir Singh was killed along with Prince Kashmira Singh in December 1844.

latter's conquests. The Kanwar was granted his former jagirs in full and was allowed to live under surveillance at Bhupwala near Sialkot.

As soon as the troops, impatient to go to their homes because of the coming Dussehra festival, dispersed on leave, Jawahir Singh caused letters written by his own orders to be read in the Darbar stating that Peshora Singh was again in insurrection and then despatched a battalion of his new levies raised by *Col. Gardiner with four guns against the Kanwar in spite of the fact that the thanadars, *i.e.*, officers in charge of the forts reported that the Kanwar and his mother had committed no overt act of rebellion since the capitulation.

On the approach of the troops sent against him, Prince Peshora Singh removed with his family to Kotla near the hills and leaving there his family proceeded to Baba Nanak kā dera in the Gurdaspur district. There he gave out that he was on his way to ‡Jowala Mukhi in the Kangra district.

‡However, proceeding first towards the Sutlej and there depositing his family, Peshora Singh went secretly across the Punjab to the Indus under night of the 14th July and came with seven followers to the gate of the fort of Attock. On the wicket being opened, he and his men stabbing the sentry overpowered the gate-guard putting all thirty men to death and found the garrison so panic-stricken that they consented to lay down their arms and quit the fort on the instant.

No sooner were they outside than Peshora Singh called on the people of the town and neighbourhood to join him. Since he had been the governor of Attock for five years during Ranjit Singh's time, he knew the place and the people thoroughly; early the next day he was at the head of a 1,000 men.

He raised about 2,000 horse and foot and had written to every chief and Public authority and to every village community from the Jhelum to the Khyber announcing his accession to his father's throne, requiring allegiance and aid and commanding them not to pay the revenue to the Lahore Darbar but to keep it in deposit till he should appoint his own officers to receive it. He obtained possession of the fort of Khyrabad on the opposite bank of the Indus and of the boats forming the communication, thus cutting off the direct communication with Peshawar. He remitted revenue of most of the subdued Afghan Chiefs, substituting a small

* Alexander Gardiner was an Irish deserter from the Navy who entered the service of Ranjit Singh and afterwards that of Gulab Singh.

† The town of Jowala Mukhi derives its claim to interest from the possession of a shrine, which is one of the chief places of Hindu pilgrimage. The temple has been erected over certain jets of combustible gas issuing from the ground, which are looked upon as a manifestation of the goddess Devi.

[*Gazetteer Kangra District* Vol. I, 1883-4, pp. 254-55.]

‡ Punjab Records, Book 167. pp. 76-83.

tribute as in his father's time and addressed Dost Muhammad Khan and his son at Kabul and Jalalabad offering as the price of their support to give them Peshawar in jagir.

Jawahir Singh on his part, wrote to every neighbouring governor to move at once against Peshora Singh and a force was immediately despatched under one Chanda Singh and Sardar Chatar Singh Kalianwala.* Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala and his son Sher Singh (afterwards Raja) also joined the siege laid to the fort of Attock.†

The Prince was very popular in the country around the fort and it was feared, it would take long to reduce it. Negotiations were consequently entered upon. The Prince ultimately agreed to surrender on the condition that Sardar Chatar Singh and the Sikhs with him would bind themselves on an oath to convey him safely to the presence of Rani Jindan and her son Dalip Singh; obtain for him his old jagirs of Sialkot and another jagir of Rs. 15,000 a year in addition. This being solemnly sworn to, the Prince surrendered the fort on the 30th August 1845 and joined Sardar Chatar Singh, who intimated the Darbar his purpose in sending Peshora Singh to the capital.‡

These terms were by no means to the liking of Sardar Jawahir Singh, who would not be satisfied with any thing less than spilling the life blood of the Prince. He hastily sent back the Vakeel of Sardar Chatar Singh with presents and promises to induce his master to put the prince to death, to bribe the troops with any amount of rewards and to keep up the report that the Prince had fled.‡

However, before the messenger of the Darbar reached Attock, the besieging force had broken up and Sardar Chatar Singh was on his way to Lahore along with Prince Peshora Singh. The Sardar positively refused to assassinate the Prince or to lend himself in any way to the treachery enjoined by the Darbar. Chatar Singh had reached Jhelum on his way to the Capital.‡

Sardar Jawahir Singh on the 10th September despatched an order to the Sardar to go back to his Government and to allow the Kanwar to come to the capital alone. The object of this was to clear the way for the murder of the Kanwar through secret assassins whom Jawahir Singh used to hire and send out several every day. Sardar Chatar Singh was also informed that if he would not suitably dispose of the Prince, the appointment of his son Sher Singh as the Governor of Peshawar would be cancelled.‡

* Kale to which Sardar Chatar Singh belonged is a small village at about five miles from Amritsar.

† Punjab Records. Book 167.

‡ Ibid.

Sardar Chatar Singh was against Peshora Singh's rebellion and had as already mentioned helped to put it down, but he could never persuade himself to take the life of a valiant son of the Lion of the Punjab. For to every Sikh of the time there was something sacred even about the reputed son of the Great Maharaja Ranjit Singh. Consequently even though Chatar Singh's fortunes were now at a stake, he did not yield to the evil wishes of the Darbar. Rather than send Peshora Singh to Lahore as ordered by the Wazir and thus throw the Prince into the jaws of death, he sent him, as his letters show, back to Attock under the escort of his own sons Sher Singh and Gulab Singh. As for himself Chatar Singh declared his intention of staying during the ensuing Shradha* days at Baghbuta in Rawalpindi the seat of his Government.†

Sardar Jawahir Singh and his associates took extraordinary pains to conceal their correspondence regarding Peshora Singh from the chiefs and others. Their chief correspondents and most trusted friends were now one Chet Singh at Anandpur, Lal Singh residing near Ferozepore and the members of the Majithia Family. With these they corresponded in Punjabi, using the Gurmukhi character which is known to most Sikhs, though Persian had hitherto been the exclusive language of business. The news of the murder of Peshora Singh spread at Lahore soon after. The account most credited according to Broadfoot Agent to the Governor-General, N. W. F., was the following:—On the 9th September Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala and Sardar Chatar Singh Kalianwala having resolved to comply with the wishes of the Darbar persuaded Kanwar Peshora Singh to visit the Atariwala Sardars but with only his brother-in-law and a few other attendants. Peshora Singh and his attendants were seized but not till after a desperate resistance in which many were killed and wounded on both sides. Peshora Singh was grievously wounded and died on the 11th September.

Carmichael Smyth and some of the later writers believing in the version given by Major Broadfoot, advocate that Sardar Chatar Singh participated in the actual committal of the foul murder. Although Trotter‡ and Cunningham§ have not attributed the murder to Chatar Singh, yet they are too brief even to sufficiently exonerate him. The point, however, in so far as it affects the character of Sardar Chatar Singh Atariwala, the hero of the second Sikh war, is of supreme importance and deserves a detailed discussion. Carmichael Smyth writes:—

* During the Shradha days fifteen in number, the Hindus offer dainty dishes to the Brahmins for the spiritual benefit of their dead ancestors.

† Letter of Sardar Chatar Singh No. 22.

‡ History of India 1849—62 Vol. I page 42.

§ A History of the Sikhs page 270.

" Thus then Peshora Singh with his troops accompanied by Fateh Khan and Chatar Singh with their forces, marched from Attock towards Lahore. They had not proceeded more than twenty miles on the way, however, and had come to a place called Punja Sahib or Hasan Abdal, when Chatar Singh proposed a day's halt for the purposes of hunting the wild boar. This proposal was agreed to, and the chiefs and the prince spent the day in the sport. Early the next morning, however, Chatar Singh and Fateh Khan, with a numerous band of armed men, entered the tent of the Prince, while he was yet asleep, bound him hand and foot, ... That same day Peshora Singh, heavily ironed, was taken back to Attock, mounted on an elephant, ... On arriving near the fort he was dismounted from the elephant and placed in a palanquin, the better to conceal the fact of his return under such circumstances, ... Thus then he was conveyed into the fort of the Attock, where he was conducted to a low tower.

In a lower room of this tower which had a doorway opening immediately on the river, the Prince was lodged. During the night he was visited by the treacherous chiefs, who placed six sentries over him, and before morning he had been strangled and afterwards sunk in the deep water of the Indus."*

Sohan Lal Suri, a court Vakil of Maharaja Ranjit Singh and therefore a leading authority on the period, does not even mention the name of Chatar Singh Atariwala in connection with this dirty task. According to him, the Prince was murdered by private assassins engaged by Jawahir Singh. The original reads :†

سردار مذکور تمام کیفیت ہذا در خدمت سردار جواہر سنگھ
 قلمی ساخت و ہنگام ماموری با اوشاں نمائید کہ ہر طوریکہ
 دانید اورا در ہلاک ابدی و مفاک نقصان سرمدی اندازند کہ
 در این معنی انعام بیکراں بشمایاں عطا خواہد شد و یا عیش
 رقابت و آسودگی برائے اولاد شاں خواہد گردید۔ مامورین
 در آنجا بہر طور و طراز روانہ شدہ خادم شاں و ہا دم اساس و جود او
 گردیدند و ذخیرہ سگال ابدی و عذاب سرمدی برائے خود ہا
 اندوختند۔

* *The Reigning Family of Lahore*, pages 144—5,

† *Umdut-ul-Twarikh*. Daftar IV, part III, pages 30,82.

That is, the said Sardar (Chatar Singh) intimated all the information of Prince Peshora Singh having yielded to the minister Jawahir Singh, who was highly pleased to know this. He despatched secret assassins impressing upon them the extreme necessity of putting the Prince to death. Further the Sardar pointed out that in return for this service, they shall be rewarded lavishly and be thereby enabled to better their economic condition. The agents went and somehow or other put the prince to death.

Chatar Singh's letters, too, conclusively prove that he was not present at the time when Peshora Singh was murdered. To quote one of his letters :*

"In compliance with the orders of Sardar Chatar Singh (Lit: Hazur Anwar) Peshora Singh had been detained at Hasan Abdal and sent to Attock along with the Sardars Gulab Singh and Sher Singh. The younger Sardar (Gulab Singh) shall remain with the Prince in the fort whereas Sardar Sher Singh would go to Peshawar; while Sardar Chatar Singh himself (Sarkar-i-Kalan) would stay at Baghbuta during the Shradha days."

This implies that on or before the 11th September, 1845 Chatar Singh sent Peshora Singh along with his sons to Attock and he himself did not accompany the Prince. Hence Major Smyth's assertion that Chatar Singh accompanied the Prince from Hasan Abdal back to Attock and there strangled him to death is incorrect. Major Broadfoot, the Agent to the Governor General, was also misinformed that Peshora Singh died on the 11th September as the result of injuries received two days before.

In proof of Peshora Singh's murder at the hands of Sardar Chatar Singh both Smyth and Broadfoot write that Chatar Singh and Fateh Khan dreaded the consequences of what they had done. Chatar Singh acknowledged his fears by the act of sending his family across the hills to the Kistwar, where they might dwell under the protection of his patron, Raja Gulab Singh, while he himself hastened by another route to a small village near the fort of Reharsee beyond Jammu.

Against this the following lines from another letter of Sardar Chatar Singh may be quoted: "For the last two or three days the Khalsa army have created a great disturbance at Lahore. They have killed Jawahir Singh in retaliation for his Prince Peshora Singh's murder. The disturbance at present has been quelled. We continue to enjoy the favours of the Government."†

Since the letter was written immediately after the death of Jawahir Singh which took place on the 13th Asuj 1902 (21st September 1845) it must have been written at the end of Sep-

* Letter No. 22 dated 28th Bhadon 1902 (11th September 1845).

† Letter No. 24.

tember, about the same time that Major Broadfoot was informed that Chatar Singh and Sher Singh had fled to Jammu. Sher Singh, as we have mentioned above, was about to leave for Peshawar whereas Broadfoot was informed of his flight to Jammu.

Thus once again the Agent was misinformed. Chatar Singh, as his correspondence shows, never left the seat of his Government at Baghbuta.

Moreover, the all powerful army, never accused Chatar Singh of the murder. As soon as the news of the Prince's murder reached Lahore, the instantaneous and unanimous verdict of the army was, that it was Jawahir Singh who was guilty and deserved capital punishment.*

It seems Sardar Chatar Singh was not aware of the intentions of Jawahir Singh the Minister when the former received orders from the latter to march against the Prince. The revelation of the Minister's designs to Chatar Singh at Hasan Abdal placed the latter in a very awkward position. But he could not agree to what every Sikh of the time regarded as a scar upon his conscience. He, therefore, did not allow the Prince to proceed alone to the capital. He sent him back to Attock under the escort of his own sons, and thereby tried to save his life. But unfortunately Peshora Singh's days were numbered. He was soon afterwards murdered, as the author of *Umdat-ul-Twarikh* observes, by private assassins hired by Jawahir Singh. Broadfoot also, though rather inconsistently, bears testimony to it. He writes: "It was reported on the 27th September to the Durbat that the troops in Hazara had seized the sweeper sent by Jowahir Singh to murder Peshora Singh and believed to have succeeded."†

Thus so far as the murder of Prince Peshora Singh is concerned Chatar Singh must be declared 'not guilty'.

If Chatar Singh had been suspected of the murder, the Sikh army, which held Peshora Singh in a very high esteem, would never have spared him and the history of the second Sikh War would have been very different. The army murdered both Jawahir Singh and Fateh Khan Tiwana making it clear to every body that the murder of a royal prince would not go un-avenged.

Again Sardar Chatar Singh's name does not occur among the trusted friends of the treacherous minister who succeeded in bringing about the murder of the prince after he had left Hasan Abdal for Attock.

*Sohan Lal, *Daftar IV, Part III*, pp. 80-82.

†Punjab Records. Book 167, p. 26.

That Chatar Singh arrested the Prince at Hasan Abdal is a fact but then he sent him to Attock, where he was very popular and where alone his life would be safe if it could be safe anywhere at all. That the prince was murdered was no fault of his. The life of the prince was by no means safe, several desperate characters of the lowest classes being hired daily by Jawahir Singh to take his life. Chatar Singh sent him to Attock with the best of intentions but he could not go against what Nature had in store for this unlucky Prince.

Sardar Chatar Singh's letters also throw interesting light on some of the social and economic conditions of the time, but time and space do not permit that I should here dilate upon them.

SERAI NUR MAHAL.

By R. B. Pundit Sheo Narain, Advocate, Chief Court.

"The *serai* is 551 feet square outside, including the octagonal tower at the corners. The western gateway is a double storeyed building faced on the outside with red sand-stone from the Fatehpur Sikri quarries. The whole front is divided into panels ornamented with sculpture; but the relief is low and the workmanship coarse. There are angels and fairies, elephants and rhinoceroses, camels and horses, monkeys and peacocks, with men on horseback and archers on elephants. The sides of the gateway are in much better taste, the ornament being limited to foliated scrollwork with birds sitting on the branches. But even in this the design is much better than the execution, as there is little relief. Over the entrance there is a long inscription.

"There was also a similar gateway on the eastern side, but this is now only a mass of ruin, and all the stone facing has disappeared. There was also an inscription over this gateway, which will be given presently, as a copy of it was fortunately preserved by one of the inhabitants.

"On the north side of the courtyard there is a *masjid*, and in the middle a fine well. On each side there are 32 rooms, each 10 feet 10 inches square, with a verandah in front. In each corner there were 3 rooms, one large and two small. The Emperor's apartment formed the centre block of the south side three storeys in height. The rooms were highly finished, but all their beauty is now concealed under the prevailing whitewash. The main room was oblong in shape, with a half-octagon recess on two sides, similar to the large rooms in the corners of the *serai*,

one of which is shown in the accompanying plate.* From this description it will be seen that there was accommodation inside for about 100 people. But the great mass of imperial followers found their quarters outside in an exterior court about 2,000 feet square, some of the walls of which were pointed out to me in November 1838 ; all these have disappeared now.

" The *serai* is said to have been built by Zakariya Khan, the Nazim of the Subah of Jullundur, during the reign of Jahangir. His inscription, which is cut in sunken letters on the right jamb of the west gateway, says nothing about the building of the *serai*, while the main inscription over the western gateway distinctly states that the *serai* was erected by the order of Nurjahan (*ba hukam Nurjahan Begum*). I suppose, therefore, that the actual work was superintended by Zakariya Khan of whom I can learn nothing, but who appears from this inscription to have been an energetic man. This inscription consists of six short lines as follows :—

Akhaz rahdari abwab mumnuh

bamujab amar Nawab

Zakariya Khan Bahadur Nazim

Subah muaf harkas az Faujdaran

Doabah bagirad, bar zan-i-an

Talak, talak, talak.

اخذ راه داری ابواب ممنوعه بموجب امرنواب ذکر یا خان بهادر
ناظم صوبه معاف هرکس از فوجداران دوآبه بگیرد بر زن
آن طلاق طلاق طلاق

" ' Taking payment from travellers is forbidden, the Nawab Zakariya Khan Bahadur, Governor of the District having exempted them. Should any Faujdar of the Doab collect these dues, may his wives† be divorced.'

"The expressive word *talak* three times repeated at the end of this inscription, means 'divorce or repudiation' and its three-fold repetition by a husband is said to be all that is necessary for a formal divorce. As this record is engraved on the gateway of the Badshahi Sarai, I conclude that the rooms of the *sarai*

* See Plate XXI.

† He ought to have translated : may his wife be divorced.

were available for the use of travellers whenever the Emperor was not moving himself ; or perhaps it was only the outer court, which has now disappeared that was so appropriated.

“ The inscription* over the eastern gateway must have been put up before that on the western gate, as it gives the earlier date of A. H. 1028 only, whereas the latter gives the later date of A. H. 1030 in addition to that of 1028.

“ The date is given in the last line, according to the *abjad* or numerical powers of the letters.

“ *Abad shud za Nur Jahan Begum in sarai.*”

“ The whole inscription in five rhyming verses is as follows —

Over the east of Delhi Gate.

1. *Shah-i-Jahan badaur Jahangir badshah ;*
Shanhinshah-i-zamin-o zaman saya-i-Khuda.

نشاہ جہان بدور جہانگیر بادشاہ شاہنشاہ زمین و زمان سایہ خدا

2. *Mamur kard baske Jahan ra ba-adl-o-dad ;*
ta-asman rasid bina bar sar-i-bina.

معمور کرد بسکہ جہاں را بعدل داد تا آسمان رسید بنا بر سر بنا

3. *Nur-i-Jahan ke hamdam o-kamsaz khas aust ;*
farmud in sarai wasi-i-sipahar sa.

نور جہاں کہ ہمدم و ہمسا ز خاص دست فرمود این سرائے وسیع سپہر سا

4. *Chun in bina-i-khair ba ru-i-zamin nihad ,*
bada bina-i-umrash jawedbar baka.

چوں این بنائے خیر بنائے زمین نہاد باو بنائے عمرتش جاوید بر بقا

5. *Tarikh in chun gusht murattib baguft akal ;*
abad shud za Nur Jahan Begum in sarai.

تاریخ این چون گشت مرتب بگفت عقل آباد شد ز نور جہاں بگیم این سرا

1. During the reign of Jahangir Badshah lord of the Universe, King of kings of this world and his time, the shadow of God.
2. The fame of whose goodness and justice overspread the earth.

Until it reached even the highest heavens above.

3. His wife and trusted companion, Nur Jahan,
commended the erection of this *sarai* wide as the
heavens
4. When this fortunate building rose upon the face of
the earth,
May its walls last for ever and ever.
5. The date of its foundation wisdom found in the words
“ This *sarai* was founded by Nur Jahan Begam.”

“ The inscription over the west gateway, which is in four
rhyming verses, is as follows :—

Over the west or Lahore Gate.

1. *Ba-daur adl Jahangir Shah Akbar Shah ;
kih asman-o-zamin mist-au nadarad yad.*

بدور عدل جہانگیر شاہ اکبر شاہ
کہ آسمان وزمین مثل او نہ یاد

2. *Bina -i-Nur Sara shud ba-khitah-i-Phillor ,
ba-hukm Nur Jahan Begam-i-farishta-nihad.*

بنائے نور سرا شہ خطہ پھلور
بحکم نور جہاں بیگم فرشتہ نہاد

3. *Barai-sal binayash sukhan war-i-khush guft ;
ke shud za Nur Jahan Begam ain Sarai abad 1028.*

برائے سال بنائے خوش گفت
کہ شد ز نور جہاں بیگم این سراے آباد
۱۰۲۸ ہجری

4. *Chu, shud tamam khirad guft bahar tarikhash ;
ba-shud za Nur Jahan Begam in sarai abad 1030.*

چو شد تمام خرد گفت بہر تارہ شش
بہ شد ز نور جہاں بیگم این سراے آباد
(۱۰۳۰ ہجری)

1. During the just rule of Jahangir Shah son of Akbar
Shah whose like neither heaven nor earth remembers.
2. The Nur Sarai was founded in the District of Phillor ;
By command of the angel-like Nur Jahan Begam.
3. The date of its foundation the poet happily discovered ;
‘ The Sarai was founded by Nur Jahan Begam ’ (1028).
4. The date of its completion wisdom found in the words ;
‘ This Sarai was erected by Nur Jahan Begam ’ (1030).

“ The last half line of this inscription gives the date of A. H. 1030 by merely adding the letter B to the seventh half line, thus changing *shud* to *bashud*, and adding 2 to the number. The words are arranged somewhat differently, the *abad* being placed at the end of line.”

I have to offer some remarks regarding the above :—

General Cunningham has omitted mention of the baths (Hamams) close to the well attached to the Mosque. These baths have several rooms in one of which I noticed a chimney just like our modern chimneys. They are now adapted to the requirements of officers who use the building as a rest house. The Imperial apartments are used for a school. The northern wall has gradually disappeared, its site being utilized for construction of shops facing the town on the north. In the centre is built a new building used as a Police Station.

The workmanship of the two projecting oriels of the gateway seemed to me to be different from the rest of the stonework. It was very fine and artistic, the small columns and the ceiling were very exquisite. I suspect that both of these oriels had been detached from some other building, possibly some temple and incorporated in their present place. The stone used also appeared to me to be of a different quality from the stone used for the panels of the *facade*. Besides, I noticed a very interesting hole something like a cylindrical aperture in the upper storey of the gateway. Just at the back of the window on the arch of the gate which commands the view of the landscape in front, there is a sitting place reached by a couple of steps on both sides from the roof and behind this sitting place there is that hole. It was obviously not meant for air or light. I inquired from the school master who showed over the place to me, what purpose could this hole serve. He told me that it was meant to pour down through it burning *Ral* (yellow arsenic) or other explosives over the heads of those below who may force open the gate. In this manner a protection was afforded to the inmates of the *serai* against robbery or dacoity. I must say it was a clever artifice well calculated to achieve the purpose.

It appears that as to Zakeria Khan having superintended the building of the *serai*, General Cunningham appears to be misinformed. I carefully examined the sunken letters containing the prohibition to levy lodging charges. They were certainly not incised before the panel bearing them was fitted up in the building. They clearly appear to be incised afterwards, the very crude shapes of the letters indicate their later incision. There being no date or year given therein, we are not to assume the inscription to be synchronous with the building. I am inclined to think that this prohibition against the levy of *serai* charges was much later. I do not know of any Zakeria Khan *Sooba* of

Jullundur but we know of a Nawab Zakeria Khan son of Samad Khan who in 1737 received the title of Khan Bahadur and was appointed governor of Lahore and Multan. Practically he ruled the whole province. It was he who repopulated villages devastated by Sikh plunderers, and encouraged agriculture and vanquished the Sikhs. Under his governorship peace and tranquillity reigned in the Punjab. He exercised absolute authority throughout the province until he was defeated by Nadir Shah. (Latief's History of Punjab, pages 193, 201, 212). It will thus appear that a century after the construction of the *serai* in A. D. 1619 in the benign rule of this Governor, *serai* taxes were abolished.

Moreover, General Cunningham does not seem to have grasped the meaning of the phrase *may his wife be divorced*. It is a form of curse, employed by way of imprecation among Muhammadans.

PADMAVATI—A ROMANCE OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

The Padumavati or Padmavati is an Indian romance of the sixteenth century. Malik Mohammad, the author of the poem, was a native of Jayas, in Oudh. He flourished under Sher Shah Suri and was patronised by him. With this exception very little is known concerning him. He tells us in stanza 20 of the first Canto of his poem that he was the disciple of Syyyad Muhiuddin.

“Muhiuddin was my preceptor, my steersman, and I served him. He crosseth speedily who hath him upon the ferry . . . from him did I win all my good deeds, my tongue was loosened, and (a poet) I learned to tell my tale.”

He also tells us that he was deaf by one ear and had but one eye.

He seems to be particularly conscious of the latter defect and devotes a whole stanza to explaining the significance of possessing one eye. Did not God who created the moon for the universe put a dark spot upon her while he made her bright?

“With that one eye the poet saw the whole world . . . The poet hath one eye but it is bright as a mirror and that mirror's nature is pure. (Though he is uncomely) all that are beautiful clasp his feet, and with desire look upon his face.”

Our poet had four friends, like the Prophet whose چار دِلَر are famous in history, of whose friendship he seems to have been proud. Malik Yusaf, ‘the learned and wise,’ who first knew

the secret meaning of words. Salar Khadim was the second friend whose arms were 'raised either in (wielding) the sword or in distributing gifts. Slone Singh, called by the poet Mian Salone, 'a lion among unsurpassed heroes' and Sheikh Bade 'famed as sage' were the other two friends. All four according to the poet 'were learned in the fourteen branches of knowledge and God Himself created their friendship.'

Jayas does not seem to be the birth place of the poet, for he tells us, "there *came* the poet and told his lay." There he humbly waited upon Hindu scholars and prayed them to correct and mend the broken (metre) and arrangement of his song," that is, he learnt Sanskrit prosody and Rhetoric from them.

He was the eleventh disciple in descent from the well-known Nizamuddin, who died in A. D. 1325.

Malik Mohammad attended the Court of Shers Shah and was known to and admired by some of the Hindu allies of Shers Shah like Jagat Dev, the Maharaja of Ghazipur and Bhojpur. In his poem he devotes five stanzas to the description of the glory, courage and justice of Shers Shah, his comeliness and generosity. 'Shers Shah', says the poet, 'has won all his kingdom by the might of his sword.' 'When the armies of Shers Shah advance, the heavens tremble and Indra quaketh in fear, the snake god Vasuki hideth himself in the lowest hell, Meru sinketh down, the oceans dry up, the forests break and are mingled with dust. The cow and the tiger walk together on the same road in his reign.' In generosity the poet compares him to Hatam Tai and Karan.

Malik Muhammad appears to be profoundly affected by the teachings of Kabir. He indicates a surprising familiarity with Hindu lore and mythology and Yoga philosophy. Though regarded and revered as a Muhammadan saint by his co-religionists, the poem shows him to be a man free from all taint of bigotry and fanaticism, and in his toleration he is the equal of Kabir and Tulsidass. His leanings towards the Vedantic philosophy are apparent throughout the poem, and there are passages which indicate that he advocated vegetarianism. Even a cursory reading of his poem would show that he was learned, broad-minded and cultured.

Many legends and stories are connected with his name. He was much admired by the Raja of Amethi who attributed the birth of a son to the prayers of the poet-saint and his tomb is still to be seen at Amethi.

Besides the Padmavati, Malik Muhammad wrote a religious poem called the Akharvat.

The romance of Padmavati was written in year 947 of the Hijra or A. D. 1540. It is a long poem consisting of 704 stanzas. Each stanza consists of seven chopais which are followed by a

doha, and possesses the ease and flexibility of the Spenserian stanza. In dohas Malik Muhammad frequently omits a Matra in the first half, and uses accent more frequently than quantity. He wrote long before Keshavadass and laid down the canons of Hindi metre. There is in this poem a looseness of metre which is unknown in later Hindi poetry.

The Padmavati is remarkable in many ways. It is a fine work of imagination, full of poetic beauties. It is a profound allegory. It is also remarkable because of its age. Next to *Prithi Raj Rasau*, it is the oldest work available in Hindi or Hindustani. Its philological importance to a student of vernacular literature, who wants to study the language of the people as it was spoken in the sixteenth century, is very great indeed. It is a remarkable instance of a Muhammadan writing a poem on a Hindu subject, with an insight into Hindu manners, customs and ways of life which is extraordinary. It shows a Muhammadan saint well versed in Hindu philosophy and Shastras and Pauranic lore. Above all it shows a spirit free from fanaticism and bigotry in an age when Muhammadans must have been regarded by the Hindus as their bitterest enemies. And it serves as an object lesson to those who regard Urdu as the special language of the Muhammadans and Hindi as that of the Hindus, and who forget their common origin.

The main story of the Padmavati may be divided into two episodes, the romantic and the historical. The romantic episode deals with the Union of Padmavati with Rattan Sen, the Raja of Chittore, and the historical episode describes the sack of Chittore by Allauddin Khilji.

Padmavati was the daughter of Gandharbena, the King of Singhaldip or Ceylon. In beauty she was 'an expression of God's providence' and was as it were 'drawn from the rays of the sun.' She was taught the Vedas and the Shastras. She had a parrot Hiramani by name. That parrot also was a great Pandit. 'God had given the bird such glory that his eyes were like precious stones and his face like rubies and pearls'. They always remained together, and together read the holy books and the Vedas. When Padmavati was full of age the scented odour of her limbs pervaded the universe, and she confided to the parrot her growing desires. She said, 'day by day cometh the god of love and tortureth me.' The king, her father, when he heard that the parrot was the cause of the change in Padmavati's eyes

राजा सुना दिसिटि भई आना (III. ५७.)

ordered that it should be killed. When the parrot came to know of it, he expressed a desire to Padmavati to return to his forest home, for thought he, 'if a man's steersman be his enemy

he will sink the ship sometime.' Once when Padmavati was gone to the Mansarodaka lake to bathe, the parrot said to himself, 'Let me haste away while I have still feathers on my body.'

बहेसि चलड जड लहि तन पांखा ।

and away he flew. When the Princess heard that her parrot was gone 'her soul did dry up.' The 'star-tears' began to fall. "Wither hath this parrot flown?", cried she, "seek, friends, for its abode". The parrot was caught by a hunter who took it to the bazar for selling it. A poor Brahman who had accompanied a merchant from Chittore, saw it and enquired of the parrot whether he was learned. The parrot replied, "Sir, I once had wisdom when I was a bird escaped from the cage. Now what wisdom doth thy disciple possess for he is a prisoner, thrust into a basket and brought for sale. Learned men are not brought to market. But I wished to be sold and therefore is all my learning forgotten." The Brahman bought the parrot and brought it to Chittore. Raja Rattansena of Chittore, when he learnt that a Brahman had brought a parrot which was a poet like Viyasa and learned like Sahadeva, ordered the Brahman to appear before him and wished to buy the parrot. The Brahman after the usual benediction began :

विपर असीस बिनति अउधारा,
सुआ जीउ नहीं करउं निआरा ॥
पइ यह पेठ भरउ विसुआसी,
जेह सफ वाउ तग सनिआसी ॥

"Never would I separate myself from this parrot which is like my soul, but this belly is the devourer of the universe, before which bow, yea all ascetics and devotees." The King bought Hiramani for a hundred thousand rupees. The parrot ravished the heart of his hearers by his conversation. All that he spoke was rubies and coral'. By his tales of love and 'stories of passion' he, as it were, used to strike his hearers dumb.

Once when the King had gone to hunt, Nagmati, 'his beautiful queen and the chief of his harem', adored herself, and filled with pride at her beauty asked the parrot, "Is there any one on this earth so fair as I?" The parrot when he thought of the beauty of Padmavati laughed and replied:

संवरि रूख पदुमावति केरा । हंसा सुआ रानो मुख हेरा ॥
जेहि सरवर मे हंस न आवा । बकूलि तहि जल हंस कहावा ॥
देर कीह अस जगत अनूपा । एक एक तई आगरि रूपा,
कई मन गरब न छाजा कबहु । चान्द घटा अउ लागउ राहु ॥
का पूछे सिंघल की नारी । दिहि न पूजेइ निसी अधाआरी ।

"In the lake to which the swan cometh not, there the paddy bird is called the swan. God so perfectly made this world that every creature excelleth another (in beauty), vanity becometh no one's soul. The very moon waneth and is devoured by Rahu. Why asketh thou me concerning the women of Simhala for the dark night cannot be compared to the day." When the queen heard this, she flew into a passion and ordered her maid servant to kill the bird. But the maid-servant was prudent; she concealed the parrot. When, on his return from the hunt, the Raja asked about the parrot, the queen told him that it had been carried off by a cat. She added: "When I asked the parrot about Padmani of Simhala he replied; 'What art thou, O Nagni? She is like the day and thou art as the night. Where spring is ever blooming who careth for a garden of thorny Karila.'" But this did not please the Raja and he said, "Either bring thou me back the life of my body or else go thou and with the parrot immolate thyself." The parrot was then produced.

The Raja asked the parrot to describe the kingdom of Simhala Dip and the beauty of Padmavati. The parrot then elaborately described the beauty of Padmavati from top to toe, in one canto called the **नख सिख खंड**. He said, 'Her head is crowned with musk-scented locks. The parting of her hair is like 'the lightning flash through the clouds', her forehead 'is bright as the young moon of the second day.' Her eyebrows are 'black bows, strung from which she speedeth mortal shafts at whomsoever she casteth but a glance.' Her eyes are 'like the ocean and when they move the whole world is moved'. Her nose is 'thin as the edge of a sword, her lips are scarlet full of nectar,' and when she speaketh, 'it really raineth blossoms.' 'For whom', asks the parrot, 'hath that lotus blossomed forth?'

ह कहि कहं कंठ विगासी, को मधुकर रस लेइ ।

Her teeth are compared to diamonds on a pedestal

दसन चउक बैठे जनु हीरा ।

Her voice is entrancing. It has 'stolen the song of the Chataka and of the cuckoo, nor can the melody of flute and lute compare with it.' In this manner the parrot praised the beauty of Padmavati, the perfect woman, and ends by saying:

चातक कोकिल रहहि जो नाही

बीन वनसी वइ वयन न मेला

"I cannot describe her because I do not find anything with which I may compare her."

Rattansena, when he heard all this, fell into a swoon smitten by the rays of Padmavati's beauty, and he fell in that ocean of love which hath no limit. परा सा पेम समुद्र अपारा ।

He wept like a new born child. His nobles and courtiers tried to soothe him. The parrot said :

“ Listen thou, O king, to me, the path of love is very difficult. The way to Simhaldipa is the way of renunciation, of the ascetic and the hermit and sanyasin The mount of love is very hard to climb, only he can climb who walks on his head.” The tears rose into the King’s eyes and he was unable to speak. He renounced his throne and became a Yogi, and prepared to start for Simhaldipa. His wife and mother tried to dissuade him but in vain. When he was about to start, every good omen occurred. The astrologers presented two rupees to him, a number of small girls were seen with jars of water on their head, the milkmaids were seen selling curds, a gardener’s daughter presented a crown of flowers, a snake and an elephant passed before him, a deer ran from left to right and so on. Thus started the king accompanied by 16,000 princes of various cities. They travelled twenty miles daily. Hiramani, the parrot, guided them. In a month they reached the kingdom of King Gajpati, where they stayed for a short time. Then they crossed the seven oceans, the ocean of milk, the ocean of curds, the ocean of fire, the water of which was boiling like a cauldron of oil, the ocean of wine, which intoxicated all who tasted it, the ocean of great noise कलकल समुद्र and finally the lotus ocean मानहार समुद्र. From the lotus ocean they had a sight of Simaldip and of the palace of Padmavati. The parrot advised the King to go to the temple of Mahadev and stay there. On the Basant day, Padmavati, as everybody else, would visit the temple and thus the King could have a sight of Padmavati. The King accordingly went to the temple and the parrot to the palace of Padmavati. In the temple, the King worshipped the god with great humility and in the hope of a sight of Padmavati, bowed in all the four directions.

پداوتی کہ درس آسا دندوت کینو منڈپ چوپاسا

There he heard an *akash bani* which directed him to persevere, for by perseverance he would gain his end.

The King became absorbed in the contemplation of his beloved and by the force of his yoga showed himself in a dream to Padmavati, who also began to pine for him. She became pale and emaciated and explained the cause to her nurse thus: “O nurse. Separation is burning both my youth and life like *ghee* in fire. I feel as if I am being cut in two by a saw.” The nurse advised her to go to the temple of Mahadev and offer worship to the god. While Padmavati was weighed down with this sorrow, Hiramani, the parrot, arrived at the palace. She embraced the parrot and wept bitterly, for there is great rejoicing when the lost one meets again. The parrot gave an account of Ratan Sen and his country and described in eloquent words the great love of Ratan Sen for her. Padmavati, when she heard this, flushed

red but became pale again when she thought of her father. The parrot consoled her and advised her to see Ratan Sen in the temple of Mahadev on the Spring-day festival.

Time passed slowly with Padmavati. At the end of the winter, on the Basant-panchmi day Padmavati, accompanied by thirty-six hundred girl companions, with twigs of a sacred flower in their hands, started towards the temple.

مٹھ میں چلی ہو ٹھاٹھر کہینے	چلی اہیرن کا جر دینے!
گو جری چلی گواس کی ماتی	تنبوں چلی رنگ بہولاتی
چلی دوارن پی نئی نینا!	بھاٹن چلی مدھر مکھ بینا
گاندھن چلی سنگندہ لگانے	چھپین چھپی چیر رنگانے
رنگرین تن راتی ساری	چلی چوکھ سونائیں باری
مالن چلی پھول لئی گانٹھے	تین چلی پھلایل مانٹھے
کی سنگار ہو بسوا چلیں	جند لگ موندی گسیں کلی

Playing, dancing and singing, they reached the temple of Mahadev, where Padmavati praised the god and asked from him the boon of a husband. But the god himself was struck dumb by her beauty. When Padmavati found no response to her supplications, she laughed and said: "What a strange god have I come to worship; he appears to have gone to sleep. . . . I thought him to be a great god, but even if he goes to sleep, who would fulfil my desire and wash away my grief? At that time one of her companions coyly got up and said that towards the eastern side of the temple there was a band of yogis who seemed to be quite new to the business; their guru had all the signs of being a prince; he appeared to be a yogi like Gopichand or Bhartrihari, and his condition was like that of one who had been poisoned. Hearing this Padmavati went towards them, and when she looked at the King, and their eyes met, he fell into a swoon and became completely unconscious. Padmavati sprinkled sandal on him, but with no effect. Then she wrote on his bosom the following words: "You have not learnt as much yoga as to deserve any alms. When I come at your door, you go to sleep. How can you obtain the alms of union? Now if you are a true sun and love the moon, show yourself in the open heavens".

Then Padmavati addressed her companions thus: O my companions, how unfortunate am I! Every one towards whom I look dies there and then. On account of this curse I never go out, for I am afraid of the sin of murder.

When the King regained consciousness, "he found neither the spring nor the garden; neither that play nor those players." He felt like a fish out of water and began to cry :

کہاں بہنت سو کوکل بیناں کہاں کُسم ال بیوہی بیناں
کہاں سومرات پری جو دسٹی کاڈھ لینو جیوہیہ پستی

Where is that spring and where is that cuckoo-like voice ?
O where?

Where is that flower which has pricked my eyes ?

Where is that vision that I saw, that idol who took out my life sitting on my heart?

How can I have the fortune of her sight and touch?

Even if the spring comes what is it to karila?

In his grief he began to curse Mahadev saying, "O you devourer of the universe, why did I ever serve you ? If a sailor takes any one unto his boat, he rows him across also. I caught hold of your feet for a beautiful fruit, but you gave me a fruit of cotton instead." The god replied, "How could I help you, O mad King, when I myself was burning like a moth?" The King in his desperation thought of self-immolation and the gods, coming to learn of his intention, informed Parvati and Mahesh in Paradise, who came and promised the fulfilment of his desire and advised him to surround the fort of Gandharv Sen, the father of Padmavati. King Gandharv Sen, seeing that a band of yogis had surrounded his fort, sent a messenger to ascertain the cause. Ratan Sen told him that he was a yogi come to demand the hand of Padmavati. Gandharv Sen was very much enraged at this, but thought it prudent to let the yogis remain unmolested, in the hope that they would leave the place of their own accord. On receiving no answer to his request, Ratan Sen wrote a letter to Padmavati and sent it through the parrot. She received the letter and told the parrot to convey to the King her message that as yet he had not learnt the path of love though she was waiting to receive him. "Tell him," she said, "that my eyes are waiting for a sight of his beloved face, staring like the narcissus."

When Ratan Sen heard this he was very happy, and at once began to scale the walls of the fort, a fort which was so high that it took him a whole night to reach the top. The watchman raised a hue and cry and Ratan Sen was arrested. The King's Pundits declared that according to the Shastras the punishment for a thief was death. But Gandharv Sen's ministers thought that nothing would be gained by putting Ratan Sen to death and that steps should be taken to prevent his numerous followers

from doing mischief. Accordingly an army of 24 lacs of canopied chiefs and 22,000 elephants was sent against them, and strict watch was kept over Padmavati.

It was when Ratan Sen was about to be impaled that Mahesh in the disguise of a bard came and admonished Gandharva Sen. But the latter paid no attention to him, and a free fight ensued between his army and that of the gods, who had come to help Ratan Sen. The King's army was easily routed by the gods, and now Gandharva Sen recognised Mahesh and begged for his forgiveness. He gladly consented to the marriage of Padmavati with Ratan Sen. Here follow elaborate descriptions of the marriage and the union of Ratan Sen with Padmavati in a canto called *Raj Rattan Sen sejkhand*—a canto which in its realism would beat Zola.

The marriage of Ratan Sen was followed by the marriage of his companions with the fair ones of Ceylon, and Ratan Sen passed his days there quite forgetful of Chittore and his wife Nagmati, who lived in utter misery and desolation. Her condition is depicted in a series of exquisite stanzas in a canto, called *بارا عاسا چنه رت كهنو*.

A bhungam bird informed Ratan Sen of her condition and he obtained leave from his father-in-law and started for Chittore, accompanied by Padmavati, whose wardrobe consisted of 4 lacs of boxes full of clothes and precious jewelry. Nagmati, though very jealous of Padmavati, reconciled herself to her lot.

This marks the beginning of what may be called the historical episode. Raghu, a learned poet and magician, was banished by Ratan Sen. He went to Delhi and described in superlative terms the beauty of the fair one of Ceylon. Alla Uddin attacked Chittore in order to take possession of her. He was unsuccessful, but managed to take Ratan Sen as prisoner by treachery, and held him as a hostage for her surrender. He was afterwards released from captivity by the bravery of two heroes Gora and Badal. He then attacked King Deo Pal who had made insulting proposals to Padmavati during his captivity. Ratan Sen was mortally wounded and returned to Chittore only to die. His wives became Sati for him, and while this was happening, Alla Uddin entered the capital which was "strewed with brave defenders, the smoke yet issuing from the recesses where lay the fair object of his desire."

I have purposely hurried through the second episode, as it is so well known. The incident of Alla Uddin's sight of Padmani, (Padmavati of the poem) in a mirror is known to every school-boy. The description of the final sack of Chittore is given by Col. Tod in his *Annals of Rajasthan*.

Such in brief is the story of Padmavati. It may be pointed out that there is some slight difference between the tale as narrated by Col. Tod, who based his information mostly on a bardic chronicle called the Khoman-rasau, and the one summarised above in what I have called the historical episode. Ratan Sen is Rana Bhimsi of Rajhistan. Malik Mohammad represents him as receiving a mortal wound in the battle with Dev Pal, while according to Tod, he dies fighting against Ala Uddin.

The Padmavati is the work of an unformed literature. The death of King Harsha in A. D. 646 was followed by a long period of disorder and confusion the period that synchronised with the birth of the modern vernaculars of India. The earliest modern vernacular literature of north India appeared in the form of bardic chronicles of Rajputana. The most important name in the literature of this period is that of Chand Barde, the contemporary of Prithvi Raj. But the genuineness of his great work, the Prithvi Raj Rasau is, according to Dr. Grierson, denied by many competent scholars. Amir Khusro's is the next important name, and a small collection of his vernacular poems is available. But a comparison of his language with that of Chand Barde and Malik Mohammad shows that if Chand Barde's Rasau is not genuine, there is very little possibility of Amir Khusro's language as recorded in the available editions of his poems being an authentic record of the language of his times. Malik Mohammad's Padmavati, is therefore, the first great poem in the vernacular literature of Hindustan, about whose genuineness there is no doubt. It is the first great poem that illustrates the successful use of vernaculars as a medium of literary expression. But as was only to be expected, its language lacks the polish that distinguishes the later Hindi and Urdu poets. Malik Mohammad's language is very vigorous, but it is the vigour that comes from wildness. It lacks sweetness of Tulsi Das but is free from the bondage of the rules of prosody laid down by Keshuv Das. To a modern ear, fed on the poetry of Tulsi Das or Mira Bai, or on the prose of Lalluji Lal, the language may appear to be almost foreign. It is full of hard dentals and sibilants, and is often unpleasantly harsh. It sounds so foreign that people are not likely to take to its study easily. One unfortunate result of the sanskritisation of modern Hindi poetry has been to make the language of this poem appear more foreign than it actually is. If people do not easily take to the study of this valuable romance it is because it is unintelligible to them at first reading. But I think to study Malik Mohammad, is no more difficult than to study Spenser. Like the latter the language of Malik Mohammad also is full of archaisms and no student of modern vernacular literature can afford to neglect the study of the Padmavati if, for no other reason than to see the vernacular literature of northern India in the making, it is a vernacular document.

One thing specially noticeable about such literature is the lack of skill in constructing a story. Spenser's *Faerie Queene* is very defective as regards the construction of plot. In fact the art of constructing an artistically whole story was not known even in English literature till the beginning of 19th century. Like the *Faerie Queene*, the *Padmavati* also bears on its face a fault of construction. The poem seems to divide itself into two distinct episodes which are connected together in a flimsy manner. After the union of Ratan Sen with Padmavati there is a natural break, and the story comes to a stop, but it is dragged on. The episode of Ala Uddin's sack of Chittore leading to the immolation of Padmavati is an independent plot, and has formed the subject matter of various stories.

But even in the two episodes taken separately the unity of construction is not preserved. The incident of the shipwreck of Ratan Sen on his return journey from Ceylon is tagged on to the main story with a view to illustrating the evil of pride and the efficacy of charity. Raghu, who makes his appearance for the first time in the beginning of the second episode, is introduced so as to give an impetus to the story to move on. He is introduced very abruptly and the incident of his exile from Chittore and his sight of Padmavati has the appearance of a stop gap. The pathetic scene in which Gora's mother and his newly-wedded wife dissuade him from going to Delhi is a digression that breaks the unity of the poem, though it is a very touching digression.

I have called *Padmavati* a romance. It is difficult to define a romance. It is a slippery and elusive word. But leaving learned discussion apart, we may accept the tentative definition given by George Wyndham in his rectorial address before the University of Edinburgh that "romance is not simply the strange but a result of welcoming the strange instead of excluding it." In the earlier stage of its development, allegory is a necessary part of it. In order to make something novel and strange welcome, the author of a romance has to seek images that are clear to his audience. He has to personify his sentiments in familiar characters....this leads to allegory. Another characteristic of earlier romance in Europe was the introduction of fables in which animals had speaking parts. The dog of Odysseus, the charger of Alexander, Reynard the fox, Bruin the bear, Chanticleer the cock, are all instances of fables forming an integral part of romance. Besides allegory and fable, romance has often recourse to mythological and fantastic symbolism. All these features of early romance in Europe are illustrated in the *Padmavati*. We have allegory, fable, adventure, supernatural help at critical moment, ideal beauty and ideal devotion, history and mythology all mixed up together in this poem.

Though it is dangerous to apply western conceptions to eastern life and literature, I cannot help pointing out a strange coincidence between the eastern and the western romance. We are told by no less an authority than Sir Walter Raleigh that the mediæval romance of Europe was mainly the result of the clash of paganism with Christianity. Later on it was the result of a clash between the Saracens and the Christians. In India also the most fertile period of romance and tales of chivalry as distinguished from epics is the period of the Mohammedan conquest of India when there was a clash between the Hindu and the Mohammedan ideals.

There is no external evidence available to show the source of the Padmavati. But in stanza 238 in canto 23, that is, राजा गढ़ छेँका खंड there are a few lines that may throw some light on its source. In this stanza Padmavati is represented as saying to the parrot :

बहुतई जउ सूर अइस जाउ पर खेला ।	विकरम धंसा मेंम कइ बारा ।
तू जोगी कह महं अकेला ॥	चंपावती कह गएउ पतारा ॥
सुदइ बच्छ मगधावती लागी	राज कुँअर कंवन पूर गएउ ।
ककन पूरी होइ गा यइरागी ॥	मिणावति केंह जाग भयउ ॥

साध कुँअर गंधावति जोखू,
मधु मालवि कहं कीनु बाँओगो ॥
येमावति केंह सरसुर साधा,
उसा लागे अनिरुध वर बाँधा ॥

The stories of Champavati, Magdavati, Mirgavati, Gandhavati and Premavati which are referred to in the stanza quoted above are like the story of Padmavati. They all typify the union of the soul with the ideally beautiful through the hardships of a life of yoga. A reference to these suggests that the Padmavati was one of the several allegorical romances now lost—some of them may, however, be traced to Sanskrit sources. Malik Mohammad seems to have been familiar with all these, and might have based his romance upon any one of them.

Pundit Sudharkara Dvivedi, the joint-editor, of the Padmavati, published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal, says in his learned commentary to this poem that the romance of Mirgavati was written by Kutban, one of the disciples of Sheikh Burhan in the year 909, 38 years before Malik Mohammad wrote his Padmavati. A tattered copy of this poem was found by him in the library of Babu Harish Chandra. He sees a lot of resemblance between these two poems. He says:

پداواتی اور مرگاوینی دونوں کی ایک چال ہے - ایک پتک
کی چھایا دوسری پتک میں ہے -

But he hesitates to assert this view, for he thinks that the language of the Mirgavati is later than that of the Padmavati. It is however for scholars of Sanskrit to discover from evidence like this the exact source of the Padmavati.

The Padmavati is an allegorical poem. Malik Mohammad meant it to be one. At the end of his poem, in stanza 702 he says:

میں یہ ارستہ پنڈت نہ سے بوجھا کہا کہ ہم کچھ اور نہ سوچھا
چودہ بھوں جو ہر ت اپراہیں سوسب مائش کے بھگت دماہیں
تن چتور - من را جا کنیاں ہیر سنگھل - بدھ پدمن چینا
گو و سوا - جنہ پنہتہ ویکھاوا بن گر جگت سونرگن پاوا
ناگمتی یہ دنیا دھندھا بانچا سوئے نے یہ چت بندھا
اگھو دوت سوئی شیطا نوں نایا علاوالدین سلطانوں
پیہم کہتا یہ بھانت بچا رو بوجھ لیو جو بوجھ پا رو
نر کی عربی ہندی بھا کا چنی آہ
جامے مارگ پیہم کا سب ہی مراہن تہ

“When I asked its meaning from the scholars they said: ‘we do not understand (this poem) in any other manner but that the 14 regions of earth and heaven are all to be found in man. Chittore is the body and Raja is the mind. Simaldip is the heart and Padmavati is the creator. The parrot is the teacher who points out the right path, the ignorant alone tries to realise the universe without a teacher. Nagmati typifies the world and worldly affairs—his mind only is engrossed in them who do not understand them. Raghu is the evil and Alla-Uddin is Maya. Understand this love-story in this wise. Whatever be the language, Turkish, Arabic or Hindi, all admire that language which pointeth the path of love.’”

The Padmavati thus, according to the poet, is the tale of the union of the human mind, Ratan Sen, with the creator, Padmavati, who is all love and beauty, and which is possible only when there is a teacher like Hiramani to guide. The path that leads to this union is the path of yoga. Throughout the poem there

are passages which show its allegorical nature. The character of Padmavati as the final goal of union, the source of all love and beauty, is kept up throughout the poem. She herself says ;

ہوں پدموات رانی سات سرگ پر باس
ہاتھ چڑھوں میں نفکی پر نفم کرے اپنا س

“ I am the queen Padmavati who resideth on the seventh heaven. He alone can find me who annihilates his self. The parrot calls her a guru and says :

جس تنہ کہنے کیا اگر ہو
سوسب گر کہنے جلیو اگا ہو

“ One who places you before all, he advances beyond all teachers. Ratan Sen considers her all pervading and says :

پر گھٹ گیت سکل ہی پوری - رہا سب ٹھانوں - جٹ دیکھوں
اوہی دیکھوں - دوسر نہیں کہہ جانوں

“ She is seen everywhere ; she is concealed everywhere ; she pervadeth all places. Look where I will, I see her. I see no one else.”

When Raghu sees her and falls into a swoon, the companions of Padmavati tell him that one who realises her, loses his own identity. The manifest is concealed, the living becomes like unto the dead.

But though the allegorical significance of the poem is so often emphasised, it cannot be said by any stretch of imagination that everything can be explained on that basis. Even Padmavati is often too human to be mistaken for any ideal abstraction. The human and the allegorical are mixed up throughout to the detriment of the poem as a work of art. It is impossible to interpret consistently all the characters as explained by the poet allegorically. The poet is not sure himself. In the stanza quoted above Simaldip is called the heart and Chittore the body. In another stanza, 405, Simaldip is the body and Chittore the mana. The fort of Chittore is sometimes made to represent the human body, sometimes it is the fort of Simaldip. This kind of confusion is very common. The poet often forgets the allegorical design of the poem and abandons himself to a description of what is purely material and mundane with a gusto. At times he is so free with his pen that it requires some effort to remember that Malik Mohd. was a saint. When he describes the physical beauty of Padmavati, or the meeting of Padmavati with Ratan Sen, to say

that he is a sensuous poet would be a euphemism. The description of the royal banquet in honour of Alla Uddin is worthy of an epicure. He seems mentally to enjoy every dish as he names it.

But it is not as an allegory that the poem deserves study. As poetry it is a fine work of imagination. Malik Mohd. seems to me to be inspired by real poetic fervour in his descriptions. While describing the approach to Simaldip he says :

"When a man approacheth this land, it is as though he approached Kailasha, the mount of heaven. Dense mango groves lie on every side, rising from the earth to the very sky. Each tall tree exaleth the odours of Mt. Malaya, and the shade covereth the world as though it were the night. The shade is pleasant with its Malaya breeze ; even in the fiery north of Jayestha, 'tis cool amidst it.....

"So many and so dense are these groves, that I cannot tell their end. The whole six seasons of the year do they flower and fruit, as though it were always spring.

"Filling the orchards, sitteth every bird that hath a name, and each praiseth the creator in his own tongue." Canto II, 27-29.

The whole of the second canto is full of the same kind of passages. The description of the Mansarover lake, full as the sea and as unfathomless, its water clear as spotless pearls, like ambrosia scented with camphor ; of the maidens coming to draw water, with limbs odorous of the lotus, with the black bees hovering round them as they come ; of flower gardens with trees imbued with sandal odour ; of the painted courtesans, their lips red with the betel leaves, and their forms hidden 'neath saffron-coloured veils ; of the cities full of flower girls, perfumes sellers, learned men reading holy books, buffoons dancing, and thugs and villains drugging men and driving them mad—are all priceless literary gems. The bathing seen at the Mansarodak lake, sports of the girls, their frolics and their songs are all in the best style of Malik Mohd. and give him occasion to display his poetic imagination at its best. It is difficult to illustrate his fine poetic gifts by detached quotations, and when there is so much to choose from, to select a single stanza may be doing injustice to the poet. But still the following passage may give some idea of Malik Mohd.'s exquisite poetry. "The damsels laid their bodies and veils upon the bank and entered into the lake. Like jasmines they reached the water, sporting and playing the play of love. Their black hair floated on the water like poisonous snakes which bore lotuses in their mouth, and met the waves. Up rose they like tender shoots on pomegranates or vines. Yea, it was as if the very branches of love uplifted themselves. They were as if were tendrils prepared by the new spring and became manifest, full of

nectar. The lake could not contain the whole universe, for the moon entered it with all the stars to bathe. Blessed was the lake in which Luna and the stars had risen, now who will look at mere lotuses and lilies. The very ruddy goose in solitude orieth out, 'Where can I find my love? By night there is a moon in the sky and by day another in the water.' "

The poem is full of such passages. The poet does not let pass any occasion for fine description. He makes the best use of it, often at the cost of repetition. On five different occasions he describes the beauty of Padmavati. His is not the art of suggestion. He knows no self-control. And with an abandon unknown in English poetry he describes all from the commonest to the most mystical.

As a descriptive poet alone Malik Mohd. would be very great. But no poet worth the name ever confines himself to mere description or narration howsoever beautiful. A poet is a student of human nature. Malik Mohd.'s insight into human nature is equally profound. The poem is a love romance and is studded with passages describing the joys of love and pangs of separation. Indian poetry does not know the passion of unwedded love, the love of a youth for a maiden, so characteristic of western lyrics. Whenever our poets begin to describe what is not to be found in Indian life, they become unnatural. Much of the artificiality of the modern vernacular poetry may be traced to this source. There is something very artificial when Ratan Sen falls into a fit after hearing the description of the beauty of Padmavati from Hiramani, or when Alla Uddin behaves in the same manner when Raghu describes her. Though the joy of describing a maiden's love for a knight is denied to our poets, yet the joys of wedded life, the devotion of a wife to her husband, the pangs of separation from him and the happiness of reunion are the stock in trade of Indian poetry. The pictures of Nagmati's love and separation are amongst the finest in the poem and show the poet to be a profound interpreter of the human heart.

Another characteristic of Malik Mohd. as a poet is his learning. As a Mohammadan saint it was but natural for him to be well versed in Moslem theology. But his knowledge of Hindu mythology, astrology, scriptures and philosophy, religious ceremonies and worship, social customs and manners, is really very remarkable. But for a few references to himself, his friend and teacher, the usual invocation of the prophet, the admixture of a few words of Persian origin, the reference to Mansur and Hatim Tai and to that peculiarly Turkish word Kaknus or *اکتش زن* or phoenix, one is likely to be deceived into feeling that this poem could not have been written but by a Hindu. He himself tells us that he studied under Hindu Pundits, but no amount of study alone can enable a man to know and describe as much as he does. His description of the yogis, of the various omens, of the exact

manner of worship of Mahadev, of the marriage rites of the Hindus, the dress and the toilet of a Hindu lady, the peculiar signs that distinguish a Suhagan from a widow, and the general tone and spirit of the whole poem indicate a comprehension of Hindu life that comes through sympathy and that is the special sign of genius.

WARREN HASTINGS & PHILIP FRANCIS.

By Sophia Weitzman, M. A., Ph. D.

The Manchester University Press. 25s. net.

The relations of Warren Hastings and Philip Francis form one of those personal dramas, with an Empire for their stage, which have historical consequences of a most important kind. The period was at the very beginning of the British power in Northern India. It was in 1771 that the Court of Directors "announced their intention 'to stand forth as Diwan' and assume openly the direct collection of revenues" (p. 3 of the volume under review). Hastings was appointed Governor of Bengal the same year, and arrived in Bengal in 1772, when the seat of Government was changed from the Nawab's capital at Murshidabad to Calcutta. It was in 1773 that the Regulating Act was passed which placed the Government of India on a new footing and established new relations between the East India Company and the Crown. It is this Act which closed inland trade to the Company's Agents, forbade the receipt of presents, established the Supreme Court at Calcutta, and, what is most important for our purpose, vested the Government of Bengal in a Governor General, Hastings, and Council of Four: Barwell, already in Bengal; and Francis, Clavering and Monson, appointed from England, who after the six months' voyage of those days, landed at Calcutta in October 1774. From the first the new members, headed by Francis, set themselves in opposition to Hastings. They only landed on 19th October and on 25th passed a resolution condemning the Rohilla War; on the 26th they recalled Middleton, Resident at the Court of Oudh. They went as they had begun and two years of embittered conflict followed. Francis engaged in incessant correspondence with the authorities in England, inspired by the view that "the justification of our own conduct can only be supported by a strong and deliberate censure of measures of the preceding Administration (p. 32 of the volume under review). In a letter written to Lord Clive as early as 30th November 1774, Francis wrote, "When your Lordship came here in 1765, this country was in a state of Innocence and Purity. It was Paradise before the fall, compared to the condition in which we found it".....

and in cipher: "Mr. Hastings wholly and solely has sold and ruined Bengal. He is the most corrupt of villains and Mr. Barwell is an ignorant, false, presumptuous blockhead." (p.32.)

In March 1775 Nuncomar (to be hanged a few months later after the most famous of all Indian trials) charged Hastings with receiving enormous sums for his private use; and he sought to appear before the Council to substantiate his charges. This was supported by the majority. Hastings and Barwell left the room; the majority heard Nuncomar's complaint and found it proved. Hastings replied by a suit in the Supreme Court; but shortly afterwards Mohan Parshad's complaint of forgery was privately made against Nuncomar and resulted in his trial and execution.

The Council then had a violent dispute with the Supreme Court, and with his usual invective Francis wrote to a friend in England, "I wish you would inquire and tell me in what dirty corner of Westminster Hall these cursed judges were picked up" (p. 40.) This dispute was ultimately brought to an end through suggestions made by Hastings and Barwell.

At last in September 1776 Monson died and the majority was at an end, as the Governor General had a casting vote.

Much of the foregoing is an oft-told tale, but Miss Weitzman has made use of a good deal of material hitherto unpublished; notably the letters of John Robinson, Secretary of the Treasury under Lord North; letters to Hastings; and letters from Francis; and her notes on M. S. sources are interesting and valuable. Letters not hitherto printed are printed *in extenso* or in part as appendices which form nearly half the book; and they illustrate the industry, the literary and intellectual power, the undying rancour of Francis, besides many other aspects of life in the governing circles of Calcutta and London at that day.

Miss Weitzman's main original contribution to thought about Hastings and Francis is presentation of their respective ideas as a conflict of principles. Hastings' main conception was to make the East India Company the ruler of Bengal and to exercise the functions of Government through the avowed authority of the English. Francis desired to bring Bengal directly under the authority of the Crown and to abolish the political power of the Company. In this respect the views of Francis prevailed, but only after the lapse of some eighty years, in 1858. Since that date none can be found to defend the old system; and in truth it is indefensible on principle, and only capable of explanation historically.

Hastings had already served twenty-five years in India, as the servant of the Company, and seems to have thought that loyalty to the Company prevented him from advocating direct relations with the Crown. It is uncertain whether the scheme

was then practicable, and the merit of Hastings' system of Government was that it worked at the time. Francis' merit was that he saw clearly the inherent defects of the Company's rule. He wrote to Lord North in 1777: "Circumstances, inseparable perhaps from the constitution of the East India Company, disqualified them in every sense from the duty and office which the acquisition of territory in India imposed on them. A body of merchants had interests to provide for, besides those which belonged to them in their assumed character of sovereign. Profit being the only object of a trading company, became the sole object of Government when the two characters were united. Commercial principles which the India Company brought with them into the government of a great kingdom, and it has been governed accordingly" (p. 53). Despite the characteristic exaggeration of the last sentence, the man who could point this out so clearly in 1777 had prescience and insight as a political thinker. It must be remembered that he had the training and outlook of a Civil Servant of the Crown, Hastings those of a Servant of the Company in India.

Francis was also bold enough to dip into technical Revenue, and to produce a scheme in opposition to that of Hastings. Here he was unlike the modern imported Member of Council, who deals with Law or Finance, but leaves Revenue to Indian-trained experts. Of course first principles had then to be laid down, and, in part, thanks to Francis, they were laid down wrong in Bengal a few years later.

Miss Weitzman says (p. 79) in reference to the schemes advocated by Hastings and Francis: "In their main features, both the above plans would appear to advocate the same system. Both proposed a permanent settlement, both leaned towards a settlement with the zemindars, both urged that the 'jumma' be fixed, that the rate of assessment be the medium of the past three years' collections, and both advised the sale of part of the zemindari of defaulting zemindars. The points of remembrance were, however, apparent rather than real. The permanency in the one* had relation to a limited number of years; in the other it was in perpetuity. Settlement with the zemindars was advocated in the one only where expedient; in the other as of right and universally. The "jumna" in the one was to be fixed, but with an option reserved to government; in the other 'for ever' and never to be altered. The 'medium of the past three years' collections' as the rate of assessment, was recommended in the former primarily as an experiment; in the latter as a permanent basis."

* The scheme advocated by Hastings is referred to first. Hastings had in 1775 proposed a settlement with the zemindars on leases for life or for two joint lives. (p. 72).

Francis left Bengal at the end of 1780, Hastings early in 1785. The proceedings which led to the impeachment of Hastings opened with a motion in the House of Commons by Burke on 17th February, 1786; the impeachment began on 13th February, 1788, and Hastings was acquitted in 1795. "Hastings has been impeached," said Francis, "and I have been condemned."

According to Miss Weitzman (p. 171) Francis was the moving spirit in the impeachment. "He was the instigator of the whole movement. Without him that chapter in Anglo-Indian history would never have been written. Not only was he the prompter behind the scenes, but the author, producer and stage-manager of the whole performance."

There are two views of the impeachment and both are correct. The one is that it secured for the future a high moral standard in the British governors in India: the other that the greatest Englishman who ever served in India was disgracefully treated, and that the trial lasting eight years is "one of the scandals of history" as Lord Curzon has called it.

Professor Ramsay Muir, who will long be remembered for his work at the Punjab University, has written a brilliant introduction summarising Miss Weitzman's conclusions, in the course of which he points out that the vendetta between Hastings and Francis ruined the lives of both. It was like an unhappy marriage.

The book includes excellent reproductions of portraits of Hastings and Francis. It is well printed and got up, but the type, especially of the letters, is trying to middle-aged eyes.

F. W. SKEMP.

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